



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

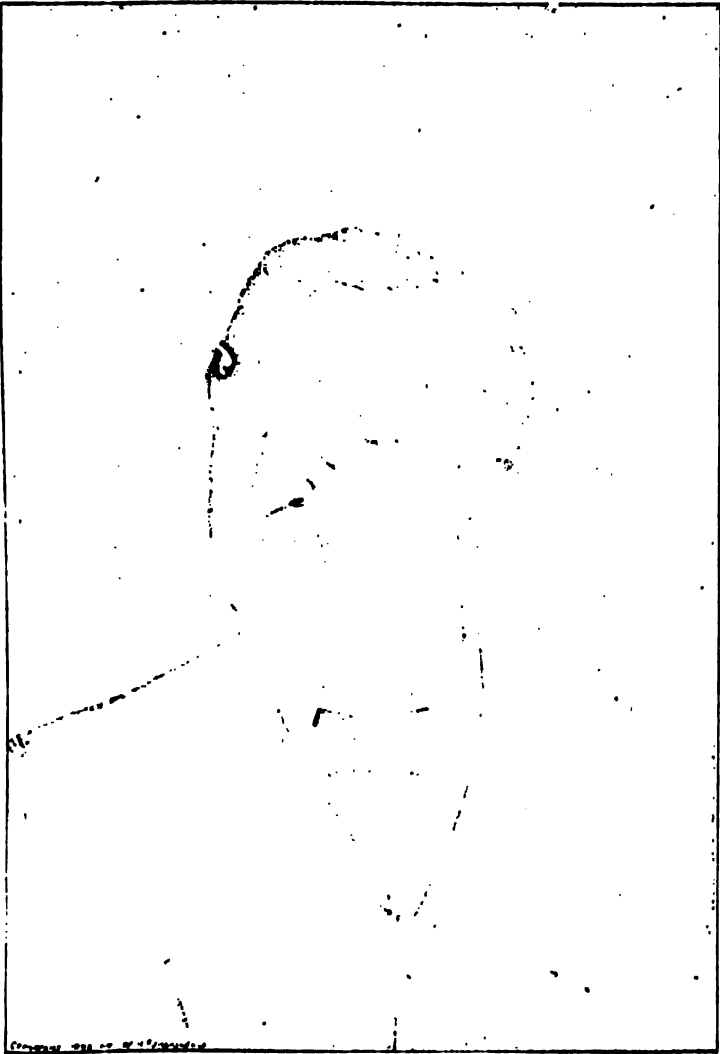
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

U.S. 6495-15





JAMES BAIRD WEAVER.

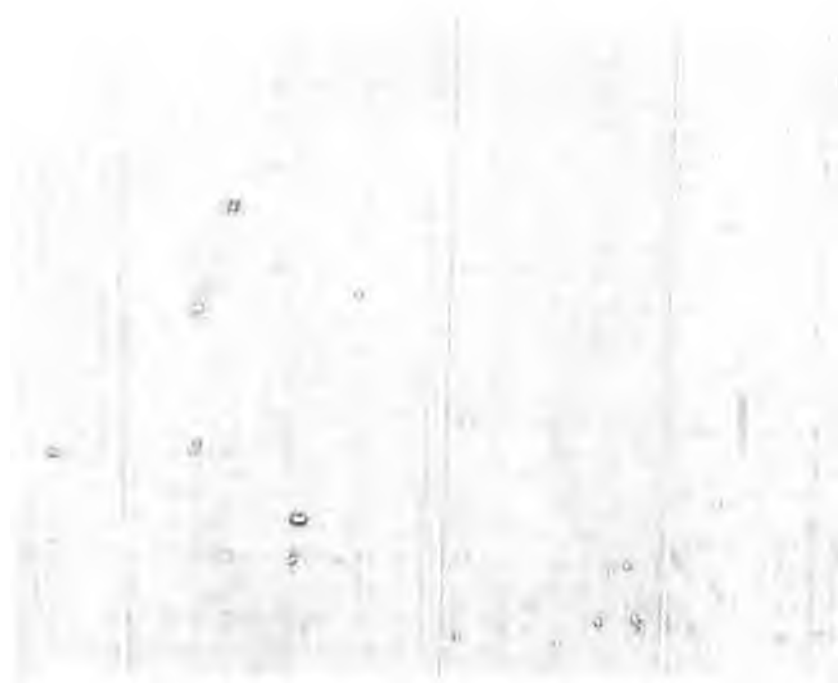
6495.15



Frank J. ...

COPYRIGHT (Sd).

W. H. FERGUSON COMPANY.

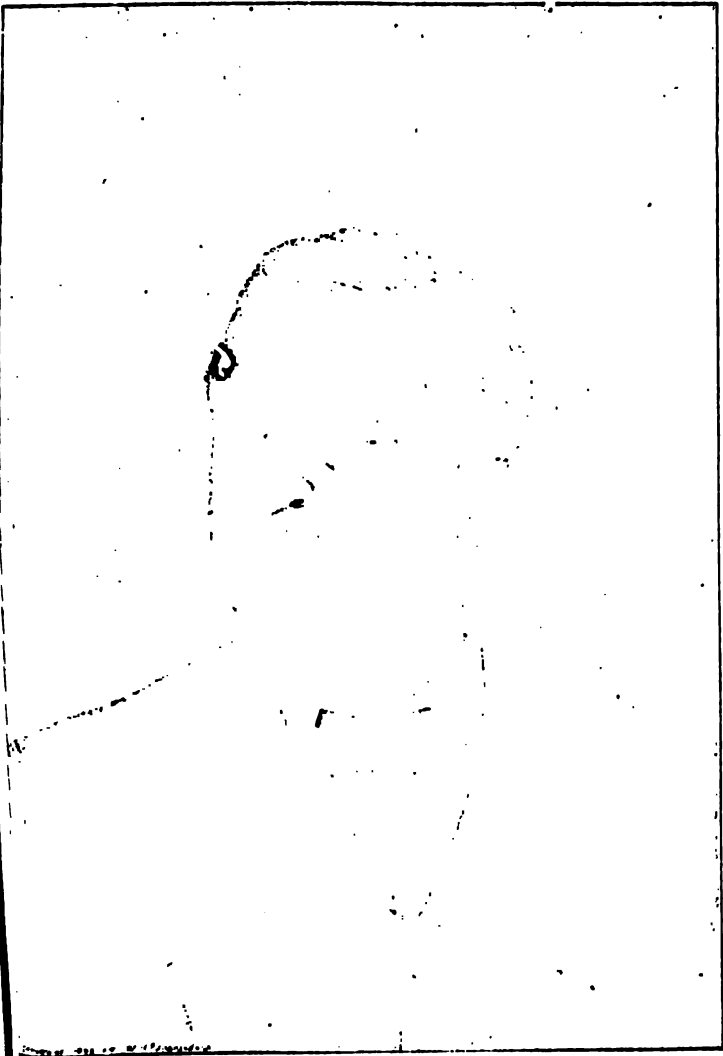




THE GIFT OF HIS WIFE
MARIE DISSTON GRANT

886:1927:

CLASS OF 1908



JAMES BAIRD WEAVER.

OF

BAIRD WEAVER

EMBRACING

Early Life; his Ambition as a Student; his Early Political Engagement; his Able and Patriotic Record as a Soldier; his Honorable Career in Congress, etc.,

BY

E. A. ALLEN,

Great Reform Writer and Historian.

broad," "Scenes at Home," "History of Civilization," etc.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF

MES Q. FIELD,

WITH A SERIES OF ARTICLES

on the Life and Achievements of the National People's Party, edited by Col. L. L. Polk, Rev. John Trimble, Secretary of the National Grange, Wm. H. Hawkins, Master of Alabama State Grange, N. M., Secretary of Patrons of Industry, and others.

contains an account of the first great Convention of

15.15



Eastford

COPYRIGHT 1942.

W. H. FERGUSON COMPANY.



1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

...tive or the elements that are dissatisfied and hostile toward the candidates nominated and principles proposed at Minneapolis and Chicago. To the convention the Labor Party sent its ablest men, who, either as delegates or participants in selecting the nominees for President and Vice-President of the States.

Do not do for those who would be accurately to undervalue the power of the People's country. If some of the strongest papers in the South have not been themselves uncommon latitude in misrepresentation of the States of the solid section elected to go against Cleveland, on the ground he is a "Wall Street" candidate. They are in power in South Carolina. They lead the Democracy of Georgia; while in Mississippi, and Arkansas their strength. It is a matter of history that they are Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska. It is that they will be reinforced by the States of silver States. It is evident that, the repeated outrages perpetrated upon

In Part I, in accordance with the design of the book, we have given the biographies of the national candidates, and a faithful and complete account of the proceedings of the convention at Omaha.

In Part II we have looked carefully into the past record of the causes and surroundings which have brought the laboring man to his present condition.

Without looking into the past, our efforts to understand the present situation would be fruitless. From the remotest periods recorded in history we have noted progress and improvement. We are therefore constrained to believe that we are on the threshold of a wonderful advancement, and that our present industrial system is soon to be superseded by one more suited to the demands of the times.

Having considered the history, trend, and immediate conditions of the problem, we turn gladly to the efforts that are being made by the downtrodden to counteract the oppression of the plutocracy. We have tried to give an impartial and accurate record of the principal movements of the day in that direction. Fortunately we have been able to incorporate in Part III the views and expressions from the pens of officials of many of the prominent organizations—men who are in sympathy with the movement—in touch with masses they would liberate, and who are beloved and respected by their associates everywhere. Our thanks are due to each and every one of these gentlemen who have so heartily responded to our request for information.

We are indebted to Mr. Hugh Cavanaugh, of Cincinnati, Hon. W. M. Payne, of the Chicago Bar, and Mr. H. I. Clark, of Omaha, for many timely suggestions and valuable assistance in the preparation of this volume.





0

0





Day Long—History of the Subject—Extracts from isolation in the United States on this Subject—Piece W s System—The Sweating System—How the Poorer Cl ed to Live—Some of the Tenement Houses of New Y of the System in our Large Cities—The Moral to be draPage
---	-----------

CHAPTER IX.

AGE OF MACHINERY.

duction—Genesis of a machine—Definition of a mach of machines—Present aspects of the case—Capital e productive by machines—Exchange value affecte —Prof. Rogers' opinion—Progress of the last century of the age—Disadvantages of machinery—The displace machines—Machines lower the standard of labor— value of labor.—Conclusion.....Pag
---	----------

CHAPTER X.

COMPETITION AND COMBINATION.

we stand—The two stages of the present system—A —History of this stage—The doctrine of "Laissez-fair of this doctrine—Modern Legislation and this doctr f competition—Individual self-love—Benefits of com itive to exertion—The abuse of competition—Compe wer the grade of work—Individuals powerless to eff pital benefited by competition—The age of combinat large factories—A struggle for existence—The "tru trusts—Benefits of the p'an—Effects of the new syst be logical outcome of competition —Conclusion.....Pag
---	----------

national prosperity—The general tendency of our present industrial system—Parallel between our present development and Villanage—Quotations from Danisthorpe—Words of warning—Hope for the future—Who are interested in this matter—The moral side of the questionPage 318

PART III.

CHAPTER XII.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Changes in Public Opinion—Civilization can not be Stationary—Trade Unions—Results in Great Britain—Slow Progress at first—Combination Laws—Early Difficulties—The Dorchester Case—What Trade Unions Are—Unions of Skilled Labor—Success of the Movement—Results of the Movement—Confederation of Trades—Trade Unions in this Country—The Ten Hours Agitation—History of the Movement in this Country—Legal Difficulties in this Country—Civil War in this Country—Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers—History of this Organization—Confederation of Labor Unions in this Country—The Knights of Labor—History of the Movement—Aims of Labor Movement—ConclusionPage 349

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FARMERS' MOVEMENT.

The Importance of the Movement—The Ricardian Law and Agriculture—The Necessity of Combination—The General Nature of the Various Farmers' Organizations—Plan of Work—Conclusion. Page 383

CHAPTER XIV.

THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

BY AUGUST POST, NATIONAL SECRETARY.

What the Alliance is—The Objects of the Alliance—Results—Methods—Principle of Non-Partisanship—Declaration of Purposes—Officers—Aims—Resolutions—Different Alliances—Preamble of the Iowa State Alliance—Objects of the same—Who may join—Nature of all Alliance Bodies—How to Organize—The Peculiar Nature of the Farmers' Calling—The Farmers' Needs—Present Results.....Page 391

CHAPTER XV.

THE FARMERS' MUTUAL BENEFIT ASSOCIATION.

BY JOHN B. STELLER, SECRETARY GENERAL ASSMBLY.

History of the Movement—Objects of the Association—Declaration of Purposes—Necessity of Organization—Preamble—Motto—General Assembly—State Assembly—County Assembly—The Subordinate Lodges—Requisite of Membership—Who can form a Lodge—Officers and their Duties—Present Condition of Agricultural Interests—The Memorial to Congress—ConclusionPage 409

.....Agrees with other
In What it Dissents—Conclusion.....1

CHAPTER XVII.

OBJECTS OF THE GRANGE.

MORTIMER WHITHEAD, LECTURER NATIONAL GRANGE.
The Grange Tested by Experience—The Broad Character
Organization—The Grange Means Education—Education
in Business—In Co-operation—Shaping Public Opin-
ions Tend to Elevate—Quotations Showing its Tendency
.....Pa

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FARMERS' LEAGUE.

BY HERBERT MYRICK, SECRETARY NATIONAL LEAGUE.
What the League is—It is a Political Party—Its Rela-
tions—Plan of Organization—Growth of the League—What
the League—Objects of the League—How They Prepare
Conclusion.....Pa

CHAPTER XIX.

PATRONS OF INDUSTRY.

BY W. H. SMITH, SUPREME SECRETARY.

Confined to Agriculturists—Preamble—The Objects—Gen-
eral—The Working Machinery—Co-operative Features—Arbi-
tration—The Patent Laws—Scheme for Saving Mo-
nitions to other Organizations Pa

Influence of the Grange—Government of the Best Classes Rendered Possible by the Grange—The Victory—Grange Legislation—Improved Financial Condition Due to the Grange—Breaking up Monopolies—Conclusion.....	Page 477
---	----------

CHAPTER XXI.

THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE AND INDUSTRIAL UNION.

REVIEWED BY COL. L. L. POLK, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE.

Distinction Between the Two Alliances—Plan of Organization—The Constituents of the Alliance—The Movement in Texas—The Union of Louisiana—The Wheel in Arkansas—The Union at St. Louis—Who is Permitted to Enter—Objects—Sketch of its Constitution.—The Sub-Treasury Plan—Historical Precedents—Present Condition of the Movement.....	Page 494
--	----------

CHAPTER XXII.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

Introduction—Modern social movements rapid—Development of a new political party—Causes leading to it—The Cincinnati Convention—Senator Peffer on its objects and hopes—Its conservative work—The platform—Conclusion.....	Page 510
---	----------

CHAPTER XXIII.

Proceedings of the National Farmers' Alliance first day morning session—Address of the President—Report of Secretary—Growth and extension—The distribution of printed matter—Alliance work—Education—Co-operative purchases—Legislative reform work—Evening session—Reforms and Reformers—Second day—Morning session—Afternoon session—Evening session—Third day—Morning session—Elevator accumulations—Adjournment.....	Page 519
--	----------

CHAPTER XXIV.

Constitution of the United States of America.....	Page 537
---	----------

CHAPTER XXV.

Digest of Important Bills and Laws.....	Page 544
---	----------

Convention was held), Omaha . . .	
1. W. A. Peffer, Senator from Kansas	
L. L. Polk, late Pres. Farmers' Nat'l Alliance . . .	
1. H. L. Loucks, Chairman Omaha Convention . . .	
1. Ignatius Donnelly, Candidate for People's Party Governor, Minnesota	
ge W. Q. Gresham	
nce V. Powderly, Gen. Master Workman, Knights of Labor	
. James H. Kyle, Senator from South Dakota . . .	
. Taubeneck, National Chairman People's Party, s Gavin Field	
amin Harrison	
claw Reid	1
r Cleveland	1
Stevenson	1

PART II.

Allen (Author's Portrait)	
sion of Labor in Olden Times	
coln, Liberator of the Oppressed	
ern City—Detroit	

	Facing Page.
13. The "800" Locks, River St. Mary's—(Cost Nine Million Dollars).....	168
24. Luxury for the Rich, Reduction of Wages for the Poor.....	169
25. Hon. Jere Simpson, Congressman from Kansas.....	176
26. Col. Ben. Terrell.....	179
27. Sam. Huston.....	204
28. Laying the Atlantic Cable.....	207
29. Andrew Jackson.....	256
30. Beginning of the Age of Machinery.....	259
31. Baron Rothschild.....	318
32. The Capitol, Washington, D. C.....	321

PART III.

33. Farmers' Alliance Exchange—Dallas, Texas.....	388
34. August Post, Secretary Farmers' National Alliance.....	391
35. A "Union" Book Bindery.....	406
36. John P. Stelle, Secretary F. M. B. A.....	409
37. John Trimble, Secretary N. G. P. of H.....	426
38. Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C.....	429
39. The Old Way.....	442
40. Mortimer Whitehead, Lecturer National Grange.....	445
41. Herbert Myreck, Secretary Farmer's League.....	456
42. Thomas Jefferson.....	459
43. The White House, Washington, D. C.....	468
44. M. H. Smith, Supreme Secretary P. of I.....	469
45. George Washington.....	476
46. Col. Hiram Hawkins, Master Alabama State Grange.....	477

**Authentic Biography of the Standard Bearers of the National
People's Party,**

CONTAINING

**GRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF THE THRILLING
EVENTS OF THE GREAT OMAHA
CONVENTION,**

WITH

**AN ALTHOUGH CONSIDERATION OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS
PARTY OF PROGRESS**



ECT OF THIS SKETCH SPENT HIS EARLY YEARS
arm, and when fifteen years of age went
, where he availed himself of such edu-
antages as the pioneer schools afforded.
eaver's boyhood went by. He acquired
on of being a fighter, and he was let
ss" Jones, since known as one of the
in southern Iowa, was his schoolmaster.
r noticed anything particular about the
d, "except that you couldn't keep him
was like a rubber ball, always bounding
ful; and I was not surprised when they
l him 'Old Sanguinity' in the army.
was a lesson to him. I remember Henry
hold of a piece of india-rubber one day.
ever seen any before, and when Henry
to hold it between his teeth to show how
im acquiesced. Then Henry let go of
the flying rubber stung Jim on the nose,

During this period he was employed a part of the time in carrying the mails on horseback between Bloomfield and Fairfield his father having the contract on that route.

DIDN'T WANT TO BE DELAYED.

Brother Mendenhall, only a trifle gray, went to school with "Jim" when Master Dennison used to wield the birch in the old log cabin, on the site now occupied by a thriving livery stable. In those days "Jim's" father was postmaster and county clerk, and "Jim" used to carry the mail three times a week to Fairfield, thirty-six miles away, swimming the rivers and braving many dangers, but cheering himself along the route with many songs, some more forcible than modest, they say. He came home one day feeling pretty blue and sore of conscience. It appears that a settler living a mile off the road used to halt "Jim" every day until he could get into confidential talking distance. Then he would ask the barefoot boy if he had a letter for him. This thing grew monotonous, and on that day "Jim" was out of sorts, and he told the settler that he had a letter for "a damned fool," and wanted to know if he were the man in question. That's the only time, save on one other occasion, that "Jim" ever swore in his life, as the records go.

...ation of being
y teller in Iowa. "Yes," he continued Jim one of the stuck-up kind. We had the habit of going over to Ober's variety store and could get anything from a wooden comb to a sky. We hung out, too, at 'Old Safety' and the Roost Hotel, while Jim used to wear a hat, refuse whisky, and keep away from our crowd. We had a caucus at Ober's and agreed that we'd have to be licked, and I was picked out to do the job. Jim was a fighter himself, and it was no use to tickle him. He was so polite and nice that we couldn't jump him, besides knowing he'd fight back. So we got up another conspiracy to get him into a row and then we'd all jump him. He was always in wearing his white shirt, and we'd drive him to the lick until one night he came to our place at the Roost, and we figured that our time had come. But it hadn't, for Jim and his

be loads of fun to pour a barrel of water into Keester's boring, and make him believe he'd struck water. We did it. Keester howled for joy, carried stones from Soap Creek, dug his well, and walled her up, but the water was not there. Keester was madder'n a hornet, but we gave up our scheme to lick Jim."

CLERKING IN A STORE AND READING LAW AT NIGHT.

In 1850 young Weaver decided to adopt the legal profession as a business, and entered upon the study of law in the office of Hon. Samuel G. McCachran, of Bloomfield, but soon afterwards he entered the store of C. W. Phelps as salesman, and pursued his readings in such leisure times as he found available. How many boys in his place would have lacked the energy necessary to have done as young Weaver did? But he did not falter. Stores in those days did not close promptly at 6 or 7 P. M. as many of them do now, but were kept open early and late to accommodate their customers from the surrounding country. However, he had chosen his profession, and what to some is arduous labor was recreation to him.

CROSSING THE PLAINS.

The year 1853 was an eventful one. At this time he received a tempting offer to drive an ox-team across the plains for a relative. Bigger wages, the excitement of the trip, he could not

turn by way of the Panama Route and
in the Fall.

This trip broadened his views and strengthened
determination to make the law his profession.

ENTERS LAW SCHOOL AT CINCINNATI.

The following year he clerked for Edwin
ing, a merchant of Bonaparte, Iowa.
yer urged him to remain under the pro-
reased salary and an ultimate partnership
siness, but this he declined and again turned
favorite project, that of becoming a lawyer.
autumn of 1854 he entered the Cincinnati
chool, and was graduated in the class of 1857
the degree of L.L.B.

BEGINS THE PRACTICE OF LAW.

A surprising number of prominent men
egun their lives as country lawyers.
the same year he opened a law office
eld, where he has pursued the practice

done, but it is said that he was very successful, and won a great number of cases entrusted to him.

ONF TO WAR.

In April, 1861, when the call went out for soldiers, young Weaver was the third man to get on the list in Bloomfield, where there were 105 enlistments in fifteen minutes. He enlisted as a private of Company G, Second Iowa Infantry, intending to enter the First Regiment, but missed it on account of his company not filling soon enough. He was elected first lieutenant of the company, which position he held until October, 1862. Having participated in the battles of Donelson, Shiloh, and the siege of Corinth, he was commissioned Major on the eve of the battle of Corinth, an honor unsolicited by him. During the sanguinary battle of the following day Colonel James Baker was mortally wounded, and the succeeding day Lieutenant Colonel N. H. Mills fell a victim to the enemy's bullets.

COMMANDS A REGIMENT.

Thus the command of the regiment devolved upon Major Weaver until the end of the engagement. Seven days later he was unanimously chosen Colonel, and was duly commissioned by Governor Kirkwood. Within one week he had risen from lieutenant to colonel, and continued to lead the gallant Second Iowa Regiment until the expiration of the term of

...hair, which is the nearest he
 ing hit. He led the brigade which croi
 ostenaula, during the battle of Resaca, (c
 scovered the enemy's position, laid the p
 idges under fire, and after crossing the l
 ove the enemy from the rifle pits before him
 re the reputation of never shrinking from
 ost perilous position, while the magnetism
 sence inspired his subordinate officers and
 h confidence and hope. He was brevetted
 ier general on the 23d of May, 1865, to date
 13th of March, 1864, "for gallant and merito
 ices," the United States Senate confirming
 deserved honor.

A CHRISTIAN SOLDIER.

'At Fort Donelson," relates one who was
 er's command, "we were in the center o
 , and our men were ..."

he was a little stuck up. We often heard prayers coming from his tent at nights, but we didn't mind that much. Well, sir, after the battle we were drawn up in line, and after roll-call Jim just stepped out and said he had asked God to forgive him for his blasphemy when they were shooting our boys down, and he wanted us to forgive him, too. There were tears in his eyes, and an hour before he had been fighting like a tiger. And after that we idolized him as a soldier, a messmate, an officer, and a Christian."

"I couldn't forget him," said Col. Samuel A. Moore. "He saved my life at Shiloh. We were in the 'Hornet's Nest,' where hell was painted in the sky. Our regiment, the Second Iowa, cut its way out with terrible loss. I fell with three wounds, but in that awful time Weaver and a companion came back to my assistance, and carried me to safety. I have been with him a great deal, and I never saw a step amiss with him. He was a brave, conscientious, Christian man. He didn't drink whisky, although I've seen him where the miasma was so thick you could cut it with a knife. He was not like other soldiers—always hungry. Paddy Walsh, the company's servant, used to say: 'I had to lade him to eat.' Weaver was as tender as a woman in ministering to his comrades."

A score of Weaver's old war companions told

§ YOUNG SOLDIER'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE

Vendell J. Mumford, who was wounded at the battle of Corinth, described General Weaver as a massive looking figure at that time. His position in the saddle was always erect and commanding. The boys would sometimes have their suspicions of him on account of his religious and temperamental principles, but he had their respect and confidence nevertheless. He was exceedingly tenacious of duty or rather of the rights of his command; and was always on having the best camping place for his troops and the best of supplies and accoutrements.

GENERAL WEAVER A MODEST MAN.

One does not find any outward indications in Weaver's home that he is a veteran of the Rebellion. No pictures adorn the wall of his parlor or his library depicting a war scene. There are no crossed swords over a mantel.

The strife being ended, General Weaver returned to his home at Bloomfield, and by his indefatigable efforts endeavored to make up for time he had devoted to the service of his country.

IN DEMAND AS AN ORATOR.

On account of his interest in all public questions, his rich, strong voice, and ready command of language, he was sought far and near when speech making was to be the order of the day. It was but necessary to announce General Weaver as "orator of the day" to insure a large and eager attendance. It mattered not whether it was a Fourth of July celebration or Memorial Day services, the people were sure of a treat when they turned out to hear "Weaver."

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE ON THE GREENBACK TICKET.

In June, 1880, the comparatively little band of earnest, enthusiastic delegates representing the National Greenback Labor Party, met in the great city of Chicago almost simultaneously with the convention which nominated the illustrious Garfield, and selected General Weaver as their standard bearer. He made a valiant fight for the new cause, and in the November election received 307,740 votes.

val to Des Moines—Reception by Citizens of Bloomfield
 resting Family—Mrs. Weaver—His Favorite Grant
 Assessor of International Revenue—Defeated for Congress
 1874—Elected on the Greenback Ticket in 1878—His
 appearance—Principle Regardless of Party—A Methodist
 Minister—Helping the Unfortunate.



CHANGE in his business made
 more convenient for Gen. Weaver
 to take up his residence in Des
 Moines. He removed to that
 place with his family, a few years ago.

His departure was greatly
 regretted by Bloomfield, and a
 reception was tendered, of which one of the
 papers gave a full account. Among other things

pleasant, a social gathering as we ever
 saw was the reception tendered Gen. and Mrs.

the town. Both have been prominent temperance workers and it was just the thing for the W. C. T. U. to honor them as it did. Their removal from our list is a public loss. No other persons can fill the places.

THE GENERAL'S FAMILY.

One night, nineteen years ago, General James B. Weaver laid aside all consideration of politics. His mind was occupied with matters greater in interest affairs of State of retrenchment, or even of reform. But to paraphrase part of a popular song :

When Weaver learned the truth
He had to call her Ruth,
And the General lost a voter in the morning!

The difference that morning was of only one vote for 1893, but the General wouldn't have it different now for a safe plurality of the national vote. Just now that little event of nineteen years ago is liable to complicated the political situation. It's enough to worry Baby McKee, and it behooves the baby at Buzzard's Bay to quit trying to swallow her toes and get down to practical politics. For there's another Ruth in the the field—Ruth Weaver. Just turned 19 years, with hair like sunshine, a pair of captivating eyes, a night-ingle's voice, a chic that is charmingly fascinating, and withal as fair a daughter of Iowa as ever was born from the blue-grass regions of that Commonwealth of economic "isms" and political heresies. Indeed Gen. Weaver is about as well equipped from

the generation that is about to cast its first
young man who could resist an arguer
ought to be disfranchised, anyhow.

HIIS ESTIMABLE WIFE.

as from this pleasant home that Gen. Weaver
in all the political campaigns that have made
in during the last twenty years. Mrs. Weaver,
character, has been a wonderful helpmate to
great a student of economics and politics
[, she has been as much to him in his public
private career. Five years ago he took to
e task of writing a book dealing with public
with finance, silver, the national debt,
anism, trusts, banks, transportation, sub-
chemes, remedies for existing evils as he
etc.—a regular People's Party book. He
about his domains—under the trees—where
g been accustomed to rehearse his speeches,
out his book. Then he would write

He is a lawyer in Des Moines, of the firm of Gatch Connor & Weaver. The "Gatch Bill" is the production of the senior member of the firm.

His second son "Abe" Weaver, is a musician. He carried his guitar to Omaha, leaving the rosewood case in which he generally keeps his instrument at home. He "toted" it to the convention in a green bag, just as some of the delegates brought their fiddles. But Abe's long suit is not on the guitar. His fame as a musician is in his marvelous abilities as a whistler. He's the champion whistler of Iowa, and it's a real treat to be about when Abe puckers his lips and lets her go. He will be busy whistling up votes for his father this fall.

The oldest of the General's daughter's is now Mrs. Robinson, of Keosauqua, Ia. She is a charming woman, the wife of Methodist minister.

Another daughter, Sue, is Mrs. Harry C. Evans, of Ottumwa. Mr. Evans is editor of the *Sun*.

Ruth Weaver, another daughter, is visiting her sister in Ottumwa. They were both delighted to hear of the General's success at Omaha.

RIVALS FOR BABY RUTH AND BABY MCKEE.

Grandaughter Alice Evans, 2 years old, bright as the sun, is the General's favorite. He sends Ottumwa and has her brought to Des Moines, when the "blues" come on him and rides the little one about on his pet Jersey calf. Alice although a possible

aura, now visiting here, and Esther, the baby of the household, 15 years old.

THE OLD HOMESTEAD.

the town of Bloomfield, situated a few blocks from the "square" in a large grove far back on a side street is the old homestead. The house is entirely modern, but home-like and comfortable. A winding path leads from the corner of the street to the house. A rustic bridge crosses the stream which lends ruggedness to the beauty of the town. On this bridge are carved, in rude letters, the names of the village boys and maidens, and the old men of the village. There are names on it too, thrown up all over the land, carved there by visitors. It was the former owner of the place. The grove around it was the old home of Gen. Weaver, the spot where his children grew up, and where he found recreation, activities, and comfort for his disappointments.

Everybody has an anecdote about "Jim and me," or "I and Jim," according to each one's supply of grammar or egotism. They talk freely about his boyhood days, his soldiering, his lawyer record, his political achievements and failures.

Naturally many of them differ with him on political questions, though, as a man, as a neighbor, a as patriotic citizen they hold him in high esteem.

GENERAL WEAVER'S FIRST OFFICE.

His splendid record for bravery and heroism had given him not a little prominence, and in 1867 he was rewarded by receiving, from President Johnson, the appointment of assessor of internal revenue for the first district of the State. This position he held creditable for six years, or until the office was abolished by law. Then he resumed the practice of law.

"Gen. Weaver was a good lawyer, but too confiding to be a close one. He was a good jury talker, but the other fellows used to spring technicalities on him and knock him out. His most celebrated case was the Fronberg murder case at Ottumwa," said an old neighbor.

Turning his attention again to politics in 1874, when he came within one vote of being the republican nominee for Congress from his district, and in 1875, against his wishes, was a prominent candidate for governor. He was one of the organizers of the Republican Party in Iowa in 1856, and affiliated with

of 16,366 against 14,308 cast for E. S. Sam
epublican nominee.

TO CONGRESS ON THE GREENBACK TICKET.

On the 18 of March, 1879, he took his seat
er of the Forty-sixth Congress.

ien. Weaver is a rather striking man and al
ractive person in Congress, because he v
speaker and had a good voice, and he
s saying things that entertained his hear
ignalized himself in Congress by holding
ock and continued session for eight days.

PRINCIPAL RATHER THAN PARTY.

ien. Weaver's strong point is that he p
pal above party discipline; that is the r
e appeared in Congress first as a Repub
is a Democrat, and for the third time as a
or Greenback advocate.

His superior qualities made it easy for hi

were limitless, and discussions upon finance resulted which attracted the attention of the whole nation, and opened the eyes of hundreds of thousands of voters to the viciousness of the existing financial system. It must not be forgotten that Gen. Weaver left a lucrative and growing practice at the bar to engage in the unremunerative pioneer work of reform. He has never flagged in his course, and stands to-day the champion of a new order of things.

The dominant desire of his life is to assist in creating conditions under which the struggle for existence for the majority may be enlightened.

BLOOMFIELD PROUD OF HIM.

Bloomfield is proud of "Jim." They hoisted the flag on the town flag-pole when Sparks, of Illinois, called him a liar in Congress.

"They had to hold 'Jim' that time," said neighbor Shaeffer.

And they were all walking in air when "Jim" held Congress at a stand-still for weeks trying to secure recognition from Speaker Randall. They like his fighting tactics on the political stump, and, while not all in sympathy with his acrobatic politics, they admire the manner in which he presses and maintains his convictions. He was a "rantankerous Prohibitionist," which some people hold against him.

The brethren figured that he had lost a little influence in them, when they voted against him years ago, but the town gossips generally allow the General never lets his religion get mixed with politics any more than he did with his soldiers.

CHARITABLE TO A FAULT.

"He always carried his money in his vest pocket," said a neighbor, "and he never knew how much anybody went to him needing money, 'till he had runned out his pile. He'd give a man money for anything he wanted, even if he needed flour himself. I've seen him take a poor man into a clothing store and rig him up in new togs when he needed clothes. He would give away money he needed for his own beefsteak with to help build a worthy church or help along some other project.

HAS WRITTEN A BOOK.

The principal ones are: "The Senate;" "The Speaker of the House;" "Supreme Court;" "Improvident Disposal of Public Lands;" "Finance in War and Peace;" "The Gerrymander," with original Caricature; "The Silver Problem;" "Evolution in Crime, or Improved Methods of Piracy;" "Public Debts;" "A Comparison—Rome, Brittan and the United States;" "Effect of Financial System on Land Values and Ownership;" "Dives and Lazarus—Contrasts;" "Trusts."

"THE PINKERTONS."

About which he says :

"I regard the situation throughout the country as very grave, and I have believed for some time that we are nearing a serious crisis. If the present strained relations between the corporations and their employes continue much longer, they will ripen into a frightful disaster. When Rome was near her fall, the rich barons had their braves; our corporation barons have their Pinkertons. They are an armed body of cruel mercenaries, and a menace to the peace of society and the lives of people. At their bidding bloodshed follows close upon the heels of corporate tyranny. They must be suppressed, and the terrible conditions which have spewed this cruel army of thugs upon the country must be changed at once, or the Republic must give way to corporate despotism. The frightful condition of affairs in Pennsylvania will strike the whole country like an alarm bell at mid-

reat Uprising—Its Interpretation—The Call to Action;" "Danger and Duty—Con reflections."

His son "Abe" has charge of the sale ok. He is located at Des Moines, Iowa. ns are that it will cut a considerable figure i ign literature this fall. We commend it reful attention of our readers.

HIS DES MOINES RESIDENCE.

Gen. Weaver has a model home at Des M : furnishings being neat and tasty. The library supplied with a variety of books on nearly ic, is Gen. Weaver's favorite room. In s many interests, he is a close and careful : uite naturally he takes an interest in politics s, but manages to keep up with all the great ns of the hour. A most intelligent and affec pily to whom we have alluded heretofore, home life exceedingly pleasant. They m

A MAN EASILY APPROACHED.

The visitor to this editor and statesman does not reach him through the medium of an office boy after an interval of heel-cooling in an ante-room, but he is received at once with a kindly grasp of the hand, and be the caller ever so humble, or his mission ever so insignificant, it is a rule with Gen. Weaver to give him an audience. The mechanic from the work-shop and the farmer, (though his hands be rough from the effects of honest toil, and his clothing sprinkled with chaff from the harvest field,) is sure of meeting as cordial and hearty a reception as the business-man, society leader or politician. Indeed Gen. Weaver has a great big heart over-flowing with love and kindness for his fellow-men.

pered in Choice of President—Conspicuous Absenteeism—Mason and Dixon's Line the Boundary—Dares to Nominate a Southron—A War on Roads—West and South Join Hands, the Whole Country—50,000 Democratic Votes Lost in Georgia, 1860—Weaver's Party Victory—Rapid Growth of the Party—The Silver States for Weaver.



ALL SECTIONS the news of the nomination of Weaver and Field was favorably received. Of course, the Press of the opposing Parties have vented their contempt and sarcasm

the Independent Party

National Economist (People's Party), Washington, D. C., July 9.—

Even among old party politicians the National Convention of the People's party at Omaha excites an interest not even second to that of the Cincinnati and Chicago Conventions. But

finds its chief expression in the question "What will the outcome be?" While the large daily papers are generally looked upon as the tools of monopoly, their news columns, during convention times, afford a fair index of what is passing in the minds of the politicians. Through their medium it became apparent many days before the Democratic and Republican conventions assembled that they would, because of the wire pulling ability of local politicians, be practically limited in their choice of candidates to two or three names each, and that the demands of the people for free coinage of silver would be unheeded by them.

CHOICE FOR PRESIDENT NOT LIMITED.

The columns of the same papers since interest began to center at Omaha, have pointedly shown, by the daily mention of new names in connection with the chief honor to be conferred by the convention, that the People's party is not restricted in its choice of leaders to a prescribed number of names.

NO SECTIONALISM HERE.

Another point, well worthy of notice in passing, is, that while the old parties again did reverence to the contemptible and devilish power of sectionalism in their choice of leaders, the People's party has emphasized its outspoken opposition to the division of the country on sectional lines by its choice of a candidate for Vice-President. For many years the

so far ahead that the South under existing
is can never hope to overtake it, and since
parties plainly rely on money to win them
is, they must be governed in their select
didates by the dictum of the men who ca
it. The Mason and Dixon line no longer
country because of hate engendered durin
r. This is but a living pretext used by bo
ties to cover up the real motive by which
prompted. The present is the first
portunity offered to the South for escaping
liation under which it has so long and undes
ored, and the indications are that it will
elf worthy of it.

**E GRANDEST AND MOST DETERMINED CONV
ON RECORD.**

There never was a grander or more dete
d enthusiastic body of men gathered und

old party politicians concerning "the outcome" is amply justified.

DARES TO NOMINATE A SOUTHERN MAN.

New Nation (Nationalist), July 9.—

The People's party is the only party that, now twenty-three years since the war, dares put a Southern candidate on its National ticket. It alone can afford to, because it is the only National party. To Nationalists, principles are more important than men, and the platform than the candidates. The sentiment of the party was regarded by the Omaha convention in adopting the St. Louis platform unchanged as to substance, but with the Nationalist planks intensified and emphasized. It was a striking testimony to the difference between the People's party as a party of principles first and men afterwards, as compared with the old parties, that the chief burst of enthusiasm during the Omaha convention attended the reading of the platform rather than the nominations of the candidates, and, that too, wholly without disparagement to the latter. It was striking and most gratifying testimony of the growth and strength of Nationalism that no plank in the platform elicited, at every reference made to it, such tumults of applause as the most nationalistic proposition of all—that of government ownership and operation of the railroads. Now that the convention has done so well by us and our cause, let us take our coats off and do our best to carry the ticket to success.

s of honest, earnest men and women bent
se, followed by the Prayers and benedictio
oiling millions, to attend the first National
ion of the People's party. All matters of
were discussed with a frankness and freenes
truly refreshing, and while many State d
s had their headquarters placarded, not a
lidate had the temerity to follow the ex
his the Omaha Convention differed very
from others that have been held this year

The Lantern (People's party), Ft. Scott,
July 9.—

With the People's party the selection of
es is not of such transcendent importance
two old parties in which the names of can
aramount to all other considerations.

At Minneapolis and Chicago the peopl
sed scenes similar to the tournaments of th
ages, where each knight of the lance had
al following and partisans. The political

finessee of the manager and the amount of money at his command or the prospective distribution of official favors. The interests of the people were ignored and treated with indifference or contempt in the unseemly and unspeakably corrupt scramble for office. That quadrennial spectacle has been sinking deeper and deeper at each recurrence into the mire of unblushing corruption; until in the year 1892 it seems to have reached the climax and consummation in villainy and infamy.

NO CIRCUS PARADE AT OMAHA.

Mark the contrast at Omaha. There no aspirates were on hand with headquarters and managers and brass bands and banners, like a circus on parade, and nothing could have more utterly and perfectly given any aspirant his political death than a resort to such methods. No man has been boomed nor groomed for the nomination. Few of the party papers had explicitly declared a preference for any man. By common consent, and without special arrangement, it had been left to the wisdom of the delegates who had been sent without any instructions as to candidates. More thought had been devoted to platforms than to candidates. Not a single man had made any single effort nor motion toward securing the nomination for himself.

No National Convention in the entire history of the country has been so perfectly clear from personal

the princely robes of colossal wealth, is nearly
l, and a new and better time is about to be
d in at the close of this century; a condition
ich offices will not be sold to the highest bidder
the candidate must be

RAILROADS, TELEGRAPHS, BEWARE.

wn to be worthy of the place he seeks.
ocrats sneer at the Omaha Convention, and
stern Union Telegraph Company, and the
ls, built and subsidized at government expense
se favors to the People's Party. The time
at hand when it will be a misfortune to any
d party to have the open and earnest support
Gould and the monopolists.

The Farm Record, (People's Party) Ava, Ia
The West and South joined hands to allay
l strife and work for the common good of

Canada to the Gulf—the people for the People's Party ticket—Weaver, Field and victory.

GEORGIA DEMOCRATS ALARMED.

Atlanta Journal, (Democratic) July 4th.:

There is a third party here and it ought to be buried under the largest Democratic majority this State ever cast—buried so deep that it will never be able to lift its head again. A reduction of the normal Democratic majority, of say 50,000, would be a People's Party victory. All that is needed to prevent this reduction and secure a larger majority than ever this year is for every Democrat to work and vote. There should be no lagging in this campaign.

Every Democrat should attend campaign meetings and get others to go, and when voting day comes there should be no absentism. There have been times when every Democratic vote was not needed, but that time is not now.

ANOTHER DEMOCRATIC CONCESSION.

New Orleans States (Democratic.)

The growth of the party in the West has been so rapid as to astonish the politicians and make doubtful the result of the Presidential election in a number of States.

MAY SURPRISE THE EASTERN PEOPLE IN NOVEMBER.

Boston Globe (Democratic.), July 9.—

The revolt of the farmers in the West and

garics of the Alliance people in matters of government and finance, there is no State which so fully affect democratic control, as Republicanism is being threatened in Kansas and possibly in other States.

THE SILVER STATES FOR WEAVER.

Through the courtesy of that sterling Democrat, Nau, we have before us the *Rocky Mountain News*, of Sunday, July 17, published at Denver, Colorado. The *News* has all the marks of a metropolitan daily, and is admittedly the most influential paper in the Rockies if not the West.

The first page of the issue before us has a full page wide cartoon surmounted by the headline "Up in the Middle of the Road."

General Weaver, mounted on a splendid charger, is riding aloft a banner with the motto "For Progress and Prosperity" heads an immense procession coming from great columns of Republican

On the Wall street side of the Harrison scroll are these words, "To Wall Street!—A Majority of the Republicans in the House and Senate voted against silver," on the side exhibited to his partisans, the words, "To the People!—Republican Senate voted for silver—Democratic House against silver."

The Wall street side of the Cleveland scroll reads, "To Wall Street!—The Democratic House defeated the silver bill which the Republican Senate had passed," and the side shown to his followers bear these words, to the People!—A Democratic majority in the House and Senate voted for Silver."

The following significant verses complete the picture.

Side tracks are rough and they're hard to walk,
Keep in the middle of the road ;
Though we haven't got time to stop and talk
We keep in the middle of the road.
Turn your backs on the goldbug men,
And yell for silver now and then ;
If you want to beat Grover, also Ben,
Just stick to the middle of the road.

Don't answer the call of goldbug tools,
But keep in the middle of the road ;
Prove that the West wasn't settled by fools,
And keep in the middle of the road.
They've woven their plots and woven them ill,
We want a WEAVER who's got more skill,
And mostly we want a Silver Bill,
- So we'll stay in the middle of the road.

Editorially the *News* says, "The Mountain States are now united. * * * There is only one free silver party and one free coinage ticket and that was created at Omaha."

to differ from those who declare General Weaver to be a weak candidate. He is responsible to a greater degree than any man living for the present status of the Third Party move. The man who calls Weaver a weak stick, either does not know him or doesn't mean to be fair. I regard General Weaver as a most remarkable man. Not only is he a thoroughly honest and sincere in his convictions, but he is probably the best equipped, mentally and physically, to carry on a campaign on a large scale in all America. A mind bubbling over with knowledge and information, reinforced with a physique equal in fibre and toughness to barbed wire, enabled to defy the elements and withstand the discomforts of travel and thus bear up under a weight of labour that would crush a dozen ordinary men. He can talk to out-door audiences for three months without a session losing neither flesh nor voice. Whatever progress he was set upon by the lions of both parties, and to his credit it stands recorded in the

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY KNOWS IT.

New York Sun, (Democratic.)

Three times three are sixty-six,
 Straw's not needed for making bricks,
 Crops depend on politics:
 And the People's Party knows it!

Plow and hoe are both played out,
 The way to farm is to run about
 To P. P. meetings, and storm and spout:
 And the People's Party knows it!

Why should the farmer delve and ditch,
 Why should the farmer's wife darn and stitch?
 The Government can make 'em rich:
 And the People's Party knows it!

When we've kicked the plutocrats down-stairs,
 And purged Wall Street of its bulls and bears,
 We're all going to be millionaires:
 And the People's Party knows it!

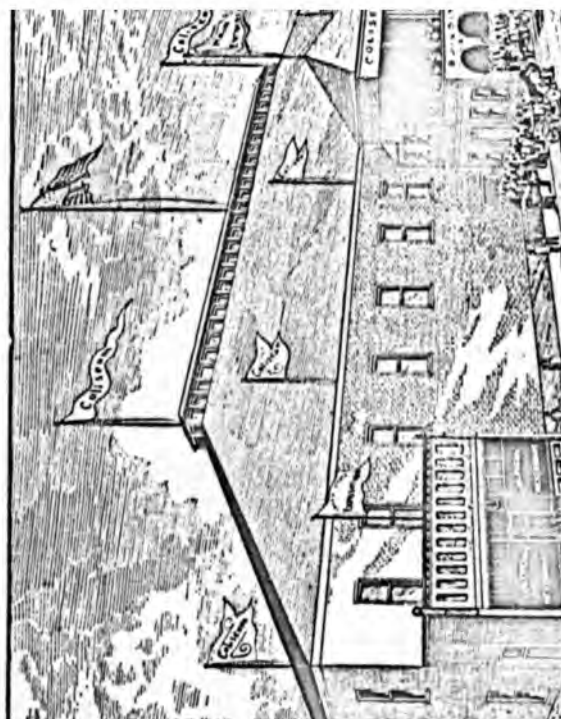
Away with the infamous mortgages,
 No more we'll be flaunted by such as he,
 Uncle Sam pays for all, d'ye see?
 And the People's Party knows it!

O, this will be a glorious land
 When things are done as we have planned;
 And we'll have prosperity fresh and canned:
 And the People's Party knows it!

The leaves of the trees will be dollar notes,
 There'll be diamond rings round the heads of oats,
 And silver tips on the horns of goats:
 And the People's Party knows it!

The cheese 'll be silver, the butter 'll be gold,
 The streams 'll run whisky, hot and cold,
 And Mugwumps will forget to scold:
 And the People's Party knows it!

The 6th ult. 'll be the 16th prox.,
 The girls will cease to think of frocks,
 Jerry Simpson's feet be sheathed in socks,
 And the People's Party knows it!



tional advantage that is typical of all other National Conventions. Everybody seemed to be in a congratulatory mood over the large attendance to the Convention, and there was a general determination that harmony should be preserved on all questions, and that the most available man should be selected to lead the fight in the coming campaign.

Even in the Convention, the People's Party would seem anxious to preserve an individuality and to set at defiance an example of two great Parties whose National Conventions have been held.

By 11 o'clock the part of the hall allotted to delegates was fairly well filled, most of the delegates being present, but in much confusion.

The general remark was that it was a fine looking body of men. Strong and striking physiognomies were present. Cranks and odd creatures, however, were occasionally seen. Before the Convention was called to order straw hats predominated. Compared with the Minneapolis and Chicago Conventions the Omaha Convention was not so well dressed, though it appeared by no means poverty stricken.

CONVENTION HELD IN THE COLISEUM.

The extensive preparations made by the Democrats at the Wigwam at Chicago, and by the Republicans at Minneapolis, are noted by their absence at the Coliseum at Omaha. Nevertheless, the building

ded if the hall would contain 100,000 in-
e-tenth that number.

The circular building had been arrange-
ces, with a number of outlets, which pr-
ything approaching confusion. Flags and
ated from every pillar and arch, and the di-
vergreens is something in the nature of t-
ches, not the less inviting because of their
lding a degree of freshness to the scene. '
gates were slow in arriving. The press w-
enter, and delegation after delegation f-
nd the hall became full of industrial leaders
ats and breezy attire, in keeping with the c

OPENING EXERCISES.

There was a slight lull as Chairman Ta-
f the National Committee, announced tha-
National Convention of the People's Party
convened in regular session. Then follow-
of applause. Prayer was offered by Rev

--

ance. Mr. Terrell paid a graceful tribute to Omaha's Mayor and continued: "This Convention is indeed a protest against present conditions. It is utterly impossible to stay the movement. If every leader of this movement, I care not who he is, be he Powderly (cheers) or Weaver, that we trust above all men as a patriotic man, or whoever you may name—if they were to-day to put themselves in opposition the movement would sweep over them and their names be forgotten. (Applause.)

"Never before in this country has such a Convention been assembled. I believe there is no man here seeking position. I have never before attended a Convention where every man desired success to everything and was perfectly willing to lay down personal ambition to secure it.

"As to the South, I want to say it is imbued with the same spirit you are. (Cheers.) The South will vote for the man who stands on the St. Louis platform, be he who he may, and the man from the man from the South who does not share this spirit had better leave the hall." (Cheers.) The speaker then declared that the People's Party had ended sectionalism, and for that alone was entitled to the gratitude of the people.

SPEECH OF THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

C. H. Ellington, of Georgia, was introduced as temporary Chairman, and in his speech of acceptance

let you. —————

all my high appreciation of the honor this
of Conventions has conferred upon me by
me to the Temporary Chairmanship. But
mind turns to the great purpose for which
we met—its mighty depth, length, breadth
and wonderful conception, all that is wrapped up in
means to us to be defeated and what it
can should victory crown our efforts—all
things crowd upon me, and I long for the ton-
tronic, whose trumpet tones shall reach
the best end of the globe, rousing and conveni-
ing people wherever its sound shall fall upon them.

“In all the history of this country, the land
of the brave, the home of the brave, there has never
been other such gathering of people. (Applause)
North, South, East or West are to-day in
our hosts together in a sense and for a purpose
never before realized in this country. (Applause)
When, in the early days of this new country,
our fathers fought for their liberty and won.

flesh of the same flesh, the fight was a bloody one, and now, for the first time, the classes in these United States are marching and marshaling their armies for the greatest struggle the world ever saw. (Cheers.) A mortal combat is on, and the ballot will be the weapon of war. (Cheers.)

THE WORLD LOOKS ON.

"The eyes of the world are upon us. Some are looking at us with hate and fear in their hearts, while others are watching us prayerfully, anxiously and hopefully. Nothing would give more joy to our opponents than to see this vast assemblage disagree. They want us to bicker and wrangle. Hundreds of pens stand ready to note the first word of discord, and in every direction the wires are waiting to transmit the hoped-for news. Brethren, friends, let us disappoint them and from the very beginning shake hands upon this one point that harmony, unity and good will shall prevail. (Cheers.) Let us lay aside all selfish individual feeling, all personal ambition that may by any possibility tend to disharmonize, and coming together in the spirit of pure fractional feeling, determined that the dominant principle shall be patriotism, pure and simple, and the desire for the general and permanent prosperity of the people. (Cheers.) I believe it is possible for this representative body to meet, counsel, perform its work and adjourn without one single word of discord, one atom

A TOUCHING ALLUSION TO POLK

"We are here to-day with the shadow of trouble resting upon us. He whom our lights have lighted to honor—our leader, the true, the honest Polk, is dead; has been taken from us when we need him most. Our hearts are in sorrow and loss. No nobler soul ever breathed, none who suffered harder, suffered more, spent more than he gave his life to our beloved cause, and we believe it was given in vain. Oh, shade of the kind-hearted, great Polk, may the mantle and spirit fall upon us to-day in our deliberations, and end that we may be like minded. I call on you to-day in his name that if there be a single vestige of sectional feeling left in the hearts of our people, to wipe it out." I charge it sacredly that we stand in the shadow of Polk's great love, and create ourselves to the great work of reform.

ceived with cheers, and when the picture of President Polk was handed to him by Chairman Wilson, of the North Carolina delegation, and hoisted into view, the vast Convention with one accord arose and the scene was one benefitting reverence to the memory of a great leader.

A GAVEL WITH A HISTORY.

At the conclusion of the Chairman's speech, Mrs. Todd, of Michigan, then stepped to the front of the platform to present Chairman Ellington with a gavel to which, she explained in words of fervor, a history is attached. The gavel was carved, she said, by the wife of Ben Terrell. It was carved from the tree planted by Washington at Mt. Vernon, an announcement which was received with enthusiastic cheers.

Chairman Ellington appropriately replied. At the conclusion of this pleasant little incident the roll of States was called to report their members of the Committee on Credentials, and at 1:25 the Convention adjourned until 3 o'clock.

At the opening of the afternoon session messages of congratulation were read from various party leaders. One from Virginia ran: "Hold the fort; Virginia is coming." The reading of the communication from Washington provoked great applause.

ENCOURAGEMENT FROM WASHINGTON.

"The subscribers here desire to tender you our

ever pleasant it might be for us to meet and
general hand-shaking, yet in our opinion those
who are not delegates should remain here
to do the work which the people have given us to

The two Wall Street Parties have held
Conventions. They have nominated their dele-
gates and are marshaling their hosts. One
engaged in "putting the rascals out," the
other in 'keeping them in.' They have no aims other
than the spoils of office, while the people are
driven from affluence to penury, and laborers in the
factories, shops and mines are dying of starvation
and by Pinkerton bullets. It is the mission of the
new party, then, to restore to the people their
given rights and the scepter of the Government.
To restore the people their lands and their con-
stitutional highways, and to wrest from corporations and
monopolies the control of the people's money and

the necessary details for a vigorous and successful campaign. The times are auspicious. Men are everywhere surrendering their party predjudices and trampling under foot old party lines. They are crying out on all sides—North, South, East and West—‘What must we do to be saved.’ Let us on with the work so nobly begun by our patriotic fathers, that the Government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth.

“Accept, gentlemen, our fraternal regards, and may the great Ruler of Nations guide your councils.

W. A. PEPPER, U. S. Senate.

“James H. Kyle, U. S. Senate; John Davis, M. C., of Missouri; O. M. Kern, of Nebraska; B. H. Clover, M. C., of Kansas; Thomas E. Winn, M. C.; William Baker, M. C.; K. C. Haterson, M. C.; John G. Otis, M. C.”

DONNELLY TAKES THE PLATFORM.

Ignatius Donelly, of Minnesota, was introduced, pending the Committee’s report, and spoke at length on the issues of the People’s party:

“I do not mean,” said Mr. Donnelly, “to indulge in any words of idle compliments—for the dignity of the occasion forbids it—when I say that no greater body of men has ever assembled upon this continent than those who sit here to-day, since those men met who formulated the immoral Declaration of Independence.

AIMED AT DEPEW.

There is not in this gathering a single of a railroad (cheers); there is not a single representative of an army or rings which are robbing sucking the life blood out of the Americans (Cheers.)

"I can not help but think of the contrast this body presents to the Convention have recently met in Minneapolis and Chicago. This little point emphasizes the difference, and is sufficient in itself to show the American people are its friends.

"There are in this Convention delegates from the distant State of California, and they contain the same railroad concessions that are given to the National Conventions. They are costly, as I am informed, of \$150 to each of

"One hundred and sixteen years of national life under the management of two great parties has given us, according to the different estimates, from 8,000 to 30,000 millionaires, and 1,500,000 tramps, while the whole land is blistered with mortgages and the whole people are steeped to the lips in poverty. My friends, every great fight that was ever made in the past for right and liberty culminates in this present gathering. Every battlefield of the past fought to make men more free, more happy and more prosperous, has shed the fruits of victory upon this great assemblage. (Cheers.) What a contrast to that Minneapolis Convention. The leading man of that body, the man most petted, and dined and wined, was Chauncey M. Depew, twenty times a millionaire, President of two railroad companies and representative of the Vanderbilt's \$200,000,000. Why he could not sneeze but the Republican papers had pictures of him in every point of the process. (Laughter and cheers.) I had a debate the other day in Minnesota, with a representative speaker of the Republican party, and I challenged him to point to a man in the great Convention who could be mentioned in one breath with the great philanthropist and humanitarian who founded the Republican party. Where is your Horace Greeley, your Charles Sumner, your Wendell Phillips, your Abraham Lincoln? I asked him to point me out a single friend of labor in the Convention, a single friend of the farmer, a single

M'KINLEY GETS A THRUST.

And when I asked for another name given the name of William McKinley, Jr., (I mean a man who put up the tariff for the benefit of protectionist manufacturers to increase burdens on the people. That is Republican philanthropy. It would be a miracle if the American people had not come to appreciate Bill McKinley's philanthropy. I want it understood that I am not saying anything against the rank and fame of either of these Presidents of "Good.") The whole American people have been in one or the other of these parties. The American people are, in my judgment, the noblest people on the face of the earth, and it does not become me to accuse either of them, but the leaders, the politics and the Conventions of the parties, are legitimate subjects for comment. I am not in the direction of this terrible power on

mous support of Minnesota; I can promise you the solid Electoral vote of Minnesota for the People's Party. I believe that I can promise that Nebraska will go the same way, and North and South Carolina and Georgia. I know that we can count on Kansas. I tell you, there is no such word as fail, so far as this movement is concerned.

A BOY ORATOR.

After Donnelly's speech a Minnesota delegate insisted that Alabama's eloquent boy orator, J. C. Manning, should be heard from and the dark-haired Southern youth was applauded as he stepped to the platform. He said he appreciated the motive that induced the followers of the movement to devote their time to it. "It is not office," he declared, "that is not what they are after; but even if it was, my God, are we not entitled to an office once, when the other sides have had all for so many years?" He said in conclusion that if the movement continued to grow as it had for the past few days the People's Party in Alabama would elect every Congressman and every member of the Electoral College from that State.

1366 DELEGATES PRESENT.

The Committee on Credentials presented its report, showing that there were no contests, and that there were 1,366 delegates present. The report was

The delegates drew a long breath after some time sight-seeing in the enterprising City of Omaha. To a great majority it was new business and it fretted them. The hotel corridors were thronged with delegates discussing the questions of the hour. The city, decorated for the Convention and many houses and dwellings for the Fourth, presented a most lively appearance.

LOUCKS FOR PERMANENT CHAIRMAN

The Committee on Permanent Organization concluded its labors and will be ready to report at the opening of its session. Henry Loucks, of South Dakota, was chosen permanent Chairman of the Convention by unanimous vote.

The only other name mentioned was Paul Vandervoort of Nebraska. Loucks was chosen as the original chairman.

CHAPTER V.

THE POLK MEMORIAL SERVICES.

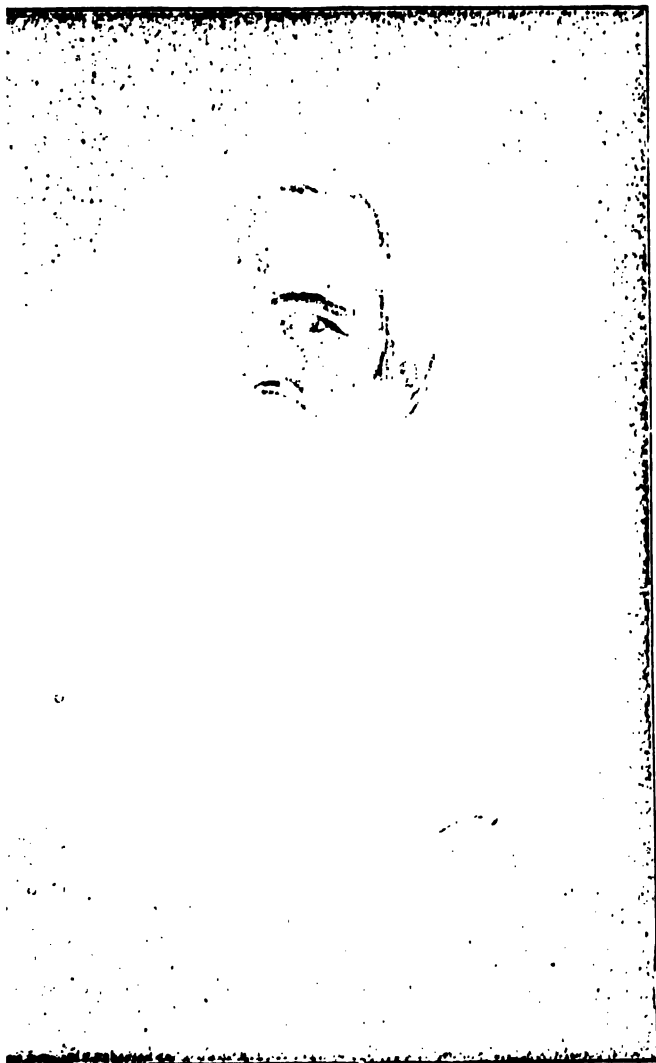
The People's Party Pays Tribute to the Deceased President of the Farmers' Alliance—Eulogies delivered by Mr. Loucks, General Weaver, Ignatius Donnelly, and others—Collection boxes to be placed in Alliance Halls throughout the country to receive five-cent contributions for Colonel Polk's family—A quiet Sunday in Omaha contrasted with drunkenness and debauchery in Chicago and Minneapolis—The Gresham Boom—His Declination—Kyle or Weaver.



THE VAST assemblage which attended the second day's session of the People's Party afforded a striking proof of the respect in which the memory of the late Colonel Polk is held by the supporters of the movement which he was instrumental in founding. The session was devoted exclusively to the delivery of addresses eulogistic of the dead champion of reform, and expressive of the reverence in which his name was held.

Though the speeches contained many inspiring sentences as to the future of the fight in which the Independent Party is engaged, the recognition of the loss which the party has sustained in the death





HON. H. L. LOUCKS,
CHAIRMAN OMAHA CONVENTION.

OPENING ADDRESS BY CHAIRMAN LOU

After a prayer by Chaplain Dissenb opening address was delivered by Mr. H. L. of South Dakota, who has been selected permanent chairman of the convention. T was marked by a sympathy and feelin caught every member of the vast audie was received with a silence which bore t to the respect in which the memory of the l dent of the Farmers' Alliance is held by t whose movement he had been identified. the sentences which broke the painful sile: gathering was the declaration that the peo new movement looked to L. L. Polk as th of an era of freedom.

"Brother Polk," the speaker contin the one man whose place can not be filled. the one around whom all our hopes center can around no other man. It is mete that suggests to his memory. He died

DR. C. W. M'CUNE PAYS HIM TRIBUTE.

Editor McCune followed. "I knew our lost friend," he said, "and it is a pride and pleasure to me to be able to say I knew him. Those who knew him best, loved him best. The noble soul, the magnificent brain, the wonderful oratory of L. L. Polk were given to the cause of our movement. He devoted himself to the destruction of sectionalism, which had been fostered by those corrupt politicians who ruled this land in the interest of those by whom it was robbed. The cause which Colonel Polk led meant freedom of labor, the triumph of the people; it meant that this country would come back to the principles of those who founded it, and incorporated in its constitution the principle of government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Were he here to-morrow he would be selected to bear your banner aloft," declared the speaker, amid the rousing cheers of the assembly.

"History inspires us with hope; it reminds us of a duty. Let us be careful how we discharge that duty. We will discharge it as becomes our manhood by keeping in view the example of our lost leader, and by determining that we shall not lag behind until the cause which he championed shall be carried to success."

Mrs. Todd, of Michigan, paid a touching tribute

and the recollections of his deeds will ever be an inspiration till the victory of our cause is proclaimed.

GENERAL WEAVER'S TOUCHING REMARKS:

General Weaver was the next speaker. His speech was brief, but summed up in well-chosen pathetic words the public life and deeds of Cass M. Cook. He loved his race, he declared, and it was a fact that he had a full knowledge and complete understanding of the great wrongs under which the people of this country were suffering, his faith superior to all difficulties, and he felt certain of ultimate triumph which is certain to come to a Government which shall free the down-trodden people of this Nation. The sentence which was received with the loudest and longest chorus of cheering was a quotation from the dead Southern reformer: "I am standing now just behind the curtain, and in a few

one lingering look upon a country whose government is of the people, for the people, and by the people."

"The name of Colonel Polk," the speaker concluded, "will remain for ages a monument of power in this country, and a great bulwark against the surging tides of hatred and political animosity. May we cherish his memory, and see that his family, which lost a head and a father, shall be cared for." This reference to the family of the deceased was received with a response which showed that the People's Party delegates are not unmindful of the services conferred upon them by the man in whose memory the meeting was held.

THE MOST ELOQUENT EULOGY OF THE DAY.

"A great man," said Hon. Ignatius Donnelly, "has fallen. He has passed from the darkness into the light. He has stepped from the visible into the invisible. He has crossed the dreaded but kindly line which limits the mercies of this imperfect life.

"A mighty tree has fallen in the forest
As falls on Mt. Avernus,
The thunder-smitten oak;
Far o'er the crashing forest
The giant arms lie spread;
And the pale augurs, muttering low,
Gaze on the blasted head.'

brother, a monument more durable than marble—a monument of affection and honor. A great heart was in this work. Can he find the speeches through which his liberated slave wander a nobler task than that in which we engaged? If he moves among us in this invisible moment he will little regard the honors we give in memory, for to the enfranchised soul all is dross; but he sees more clearly than we the magnitude of the world-embracing labor upon which we had embarked; he sees the vast vista of the future and the uncountable millions of the unborn, whose faces are to be wreathed in joy or distorted with agony as we succeed or fail.

Mr. Donnelly then touched upon the characteristics of Colonel Polk, and wound up his address calling upon the members of the audience to follow him as their exemplar. A fitting epitaph

LOUD CALLS FOR POWDERLY.

Mr. T. V. Powderly came forward and added his quota to the expressions of praise spoken of the late Colonel Polk.

"No sentiment of mine," he said, "can add one single gem to the crown that now rests upon the brow of our dead brother. He has been called to a nobler sphere. He has gone to that kingdom beyond the clouds, where the tongue of calumny can not reach him, and where the dagger of the assassin can not touch him. And even his enemies will say of him, now that he has mingled with the dust, the words which they should have said of him in life."

Mr. Powderly also referred to the late Dr. De-lamater and other leaders in the fight for humanity in which he took a part that could not fail to bear fruit.

Delegat  T. E. D. Dean, of New York, proposed a resolution to the effect that collection boxes should be placed in every Alliance hall throughout the country for the purpose of receiving five-cent subscriptions to form a fund, out of which the family of Colonel Polk should be protected and a monument erected to the man himself on the family farm in North Carolina. The resolution was seconded by Hon. Ignatius Donnelly, who said he would have a direct and strong appeal published in all the Al-

At was the theme of the...
ates to set an example for sobriety and the
ice of the Sabbath Day for the other p
rties. The necessity for such a course
etter understood by reading the following
om a prominent Chicago paper:

"The Democrats do not mean to be out
ie Republicans. The drunkenness and deb
at characterized the Minneapolis Conventi
een equaled, if not surpassed, by the Demo
ssion in Chicago. With the first arrival
ations and boomers the carnival of drinl
aturday night squads of drunken men could
eling from saloon to saloon. Sunday mat
orse. Sunday night a mob of yelling, half-
en crowded the lobby of the Palmer House
early every saloon within a mile of the c
ie city crowds of men could be found d
ghting, cursing, and shouting for Clevela
boies, Gorman, or some other candidate. T
... crowded with men

marched up to the Tremont House. Five minutes after breaking ranks they lined up four deep before the long bar of the Tremont House, waiting for drinks. The bar rooms and saloons had made great preparations. Chicago's capacity in a saloon line is very large under ordinary circumstances. There are hundreds of dens and gin shops within a radius of a mile of the court-house. On Sunday night they all did a tremendous business. Their capacity was taxed to its utmost. Monday night was even worse. More delegates and boomers had arrived. The crowds were large. Vice and drunkenness did not abate in the least, but grew visible. At midnight carriages were rolling down the streets, filled with drunken, shouting men. The yells of intoxicated men resounded through the streets and pandemonium broke loose. Down on the dark avenues, where vice reigns supreme, was a terrible scene. The streets were filled with carriages carrying enthusiastic delegates from place to place. Wine, beer, and whisky flowed like water, and the shouts of the revelers could be heard on every side. Crowds of men filed out of one gilded gin-shop and den only to enter another a few doors away. The scenes that were enacted were too disgraceful to print.

"Not until the gray light of morning appeared did the shouts of the revelers die away. One by one, overcome by liquor and tired out with the night's

"These men were to assemble a few to help select the candidates of one of the parties for the highest offices in our nation. They were to frame a platform of principles to guide the legislation of the United States. They were preparing for their task in a manner which would strike terror to the hearts of the patriots and manhood of this country. And their preparation for this important service was a drunken party. Is it possible that Christian men can trade with a party which is represented by such a class of citizens?"

EVERY ONE TALKING GRESHAM

After the adjournment of the Polk meeting the delegates continued their session as to whether Judge Gresham would be nominated. The movement came up like

78 THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF

a meeting of the Illinoisans was held; and after he had unfolded his news, the delegates quickly scattered about the different hotels, trumpeting the Judge's name with a vigor that took away the breath of those who supposed the Gresham boom had been finally disposed of.

T. Z. Magarrell, of Chicago, who was one of the Committee of Forty, headed by Terrell, of Texas, that had the interview with Judge Gresham June 23d, in which the Judge neither refused nor accepted their tender of support, was one of the most active Gresham missionaries this evening after the arrival of Delegate Smith. According to Magarrell, Gresham has assured Smith that none of the authorized communications from the People's Party leader should have yet reached the Judge, but would be presented to him to-day if possible, by the son in person, who, in leaving Smith last night, took the train from Chicago to Indiana for that purpose. The son was first to see his mother, and enlist her aid. Together wife and son would go over the situation with the Judge, laying before him all messages. Mr. Magarrell declared the dispatches purporting to have been received from Judge Gresham to be inventions.

WANTS WEAVER TO PRESENT GRESHAM'S NAME.

A rather sensational incident occurred about this time. Magarrell made his way to General Wea-

... to be... Judge Gre:
he had not substantial evidence that th
accept.

THE "THREE WISE MEN" FROM :

Prior to the arrival of the Chic
Gresham first-last-and-all-the-time me
pressed for means to stem the tide.
cuses were held, and at last a plan
evolved. It was to send a committe
Streator of Illinois, Templeton of Ind
of Colorado—to find Gresham, and obt
self an expression which should be wi
to be laid before the convention. T
Delegate Smith and the intelligence he
strengthened the determination to ha
expression from Judge Gresham, which
all doubt be authentic. As a result Mes
Templeton, and Orr left Omaha this eve
of their idol.

in conversation with Judge Gresham June 23d, claimed to have been assured by him then that any further communication from the Judge regarding the nomination would be made to the committee's chairman, and the latter had since received no word whatever.

A RAY OF HOPE.

Extraordinary as it may seem, two of the best known men in the convention were among the many who stubbornly declined to accept the Gresham telegrams as definitely settling the question of the Judge's candidacy. One was General Secretary John W. Hayes, of the Knights of Labor, and the other Marion Cannon, of California, who was chairman of the National Conference of the People's Party at St. Louis. Both professed to believe that "something was wrong" with the dispatches to and from Gresham. Secretary Hayes was showing around, as evidence of "something wrong," a telegram from Otto Gresham, son of the Judge, which was received here a little while after the messages from Judge Gresham saying the latter would decline the nomination on any platform. The Otto Gresham telegram said:

"Telegraph company advises of failure to deliver last night's message before father left French Lick this morning. Will endeavor to get it to him



HON. IGNATIUS DONNEL
PEOPLE'S PARTY CANDIDATE FOR G



HON. W. Q. GRESHAM.

ntil to-morrow, at least, and learn more before
accept these messages as authentic."

The Illinois delegation voted solidly a
fternoon to stand by the Judge from start to
f there should be the slightest definite intelli
rom him that he would accept the nomin
added significance was given to the action fre
act that Illinois has by far the largest Stat
gation to the convention.

GRESHAM'S DECLINATION.

NEW ALBANY, IND., July 2.—(Special.)—
n this city to-day, on his way to Harrison C
near Lanesville, to attend the funeral of his b
Colonel Benjamin Q. A. Gresham, Judge Wal
Gresham handed your correspondent a copy
following dispatch, positively refusing to acc
Presidential nomination of the People's Pa
tional Convention. Hon. Jackson Orr is a
in the new party, a delegate to Omaha, and

name appears to be considered at Omaha, it is due you and your fellow delegates that I should say I do not desire to be the standard-bearer of the People's Party, and could not accept the nomination if unan-
imously tendered me. W. Q. GRESHAM."

ANOTHER TELEGRAM.

INDIANAPOLIS, July 2.—(Special.)—The *Indianapolis News* to-day wired Judge Gresham at French Lick Springs as follows:

"Will you say something for publication in the *Indianapolis News*? Will you accept a nomination from the Omaha Convention if tendered?"

In reply, the *News* this morning received the following dispatch:

"ORLEANS, IND., July 2, 1892.

"*Indianapolis News*, Indianapolis, Ind.:

"I would not accept on any platform.

"W. Q. GRESHAM."

It is thought that ill health and even the fact that Judge Gresham is a man of moderate means are the principal reasons which actuated him from allowing his name from going before the convention of the National People's Party.

KYLE OR WEAVER.

With Gresham out of the race, it was thought Sunday evening that the situation had shaped itself into Kyle, of South Dakota, and Field, of Virginia,

outlook was considered, with Gresham in the s

The selection of Kyle for first place was to mean Field for second place, while the suc Weaver, it was generally conceded, would put to the front for the Vice-Presidency. The C delegation, under Delegates Branch and Po the first to hold a meeting and declare in favor. Other States later followed suit, inc all, or nearly all, the silver States.

Chairman Taubeneck, of the National C ec, says to-night that the fight is virtually b Kyle and Weaver. Mr. Taubeneck takes th hat Gresham is out of the fight, and thin ommittee appointed to see Gresham will acco nothing.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LAST DAY OF THE CONVENTION.

The Nation's Birthday—Tardy Delegates—The Chairman's splendid speech—Harmony prevailed—A pause to watch the parade—Railroads get their just desserts.



WAS amid the booming of cannon, the waving of flags, and under the inspiration of patriotic oratory, that the National People's Party Convention celebrated the natal day of the Republic by nominating an Independent candidate for President of the United States.

At 8 o'clock, the hour set for the opening of the People's Party Convention, only about three score of delegates scattered among the seats within the rail inclosure, and as many spectators were in the audience. Temporary Chairman Ellington, however, pursued directions to the letter and sharply on the minute, called the Convention to order and introduced Rev. McCready, of Buffalo Gap, in the Black Hills, who offered prayer. A glee club rendered music, and then the Convention waited while the belated delegates began to arrive and assemble, the glee club meanwhile

... enough delegates had arrived to
call of the roll to ascertain whether or not a
was present. There was found to be a majority
States present, but there was too much confusion
transact business, and amid a storm of ayes, a
was carried, at 9 o'clock, that each State ap
Sergeant-at-Arms to keep quiet in its own Sta

The Chairman of the Credentials Com
inally arrived. He reported that the commit
found no contests. The report was received
was decided that the persons whose names w
he rolls should be declared entitled to seats.

PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

The Committee on Permanent Organizati
nitted the following: Your committee on Per
Organization beg leave to submit the following

For permanent Chairman, H. L. Loucks,
Dakota. (Prolonged applause.)

For permanent Secretary, J. W. Hayer
ersey. (Applause.)

of the honor. The report was unanimously adopted amid applause, and temporary Chairman Ellington at once introduced his successor.

CHAIRMAN LOUCK'S SPEECH.

It was a picturesque spectacle when Permanent Chairman Loucks, standing firmly on his one leg, and swinging a crutch at arms length, waved the assembly to order. His speech, as it progressed, was a surprise, and a disagreeable one, to perhaps a majority of the Convention, but its impetuosity and fire, if not its hits for and against candidates, elicited cheers. Mr. Loucks said :

"Gentlemen of the Convention—The time has arrived when we must begin the serious business of this Convention. I believe that we have had a sufficient amount of oratory as a preliminary to our work, and we can dispense with it until we finish our business. Therefore, I have no speech to make to you this morning, but I would be less than human if I did not extend to you my thanks for the honor conferred on me as presiding over this, the grandest and largest Convention that has ever been held in the United States, or, I believe, anywhere else in the world. (Applause.)

"I can't resist the temptation of saying a very few words to congratulate you on the success of this magnificent Convention. It is a grand tribute to the civilization of this present century. In the past ages,

(Applause.) It is a grand tribute to the prozation, and, though many of our friends this public is in danger, I am one of those w that when the people of this Nation, the g of wealth-producers have come to that high of changing this system of government by t this Nations then saved, or will be save means, and we can certainly congratulate on that. (Applause.)

" We can congratulate ourselves that w gressing all along the line. Why, I have : of a single saloon in Omaha having to do capacity to accommodate this vast crowd applause.) That was not true of some othe tion cities in the past. We can congratulate on that.

A HARMONIOUS CONVENTION.

"I want to congratulate you on the harm has prevailed all through. There are a gr

not the choice of machine elements of the Nation.

"You hear talk in the other Conventions, about nominating certain men because they can carry certain States. We don't hear that in this Convention, by the delegates at least. The question is, 'Who represents our principles?' More than that, there is a spirit abroad here that the man who is nominated by this Convention must not only stand firmly and squarely upon our platform of principles, but he must have burned the bridge behind him. (Applause.) We are at a critical period, and we can't afford to take any chances. We want no doubtful man to lead the movement. We don't want to have to inquire how any man stands on our platform. We must know that he has been with us enough to have been found true, or he will find no place here. I have heard one thing that has discouraged me a little—that we must not nominate one of the old guards, who have been in the front of this movement all the time. Did you ever hear in a Democratic Convention, or in a Republican Convention, the statement made that because a man was active in propagating Republican or Democratic doctrine he must be knocked in the head. (Cries, "Never, never.")

"Why I have been told here that it will not be safe to nominate a man who has been a Greenbacker. You have got to nominate a man who has been either a Greenbacker or a Gold Bug, and take your chance. A Greenbacker! Why, bless your soul, this move-

may agree with this Greenback movement been identified with it in the past. The first greenback was the greenback that remained all during the war. But there was a second greenback that had that exception clause on the principal of the original Greenback movement is founded. I believe in your man who will meet with the approval of inside the party. Do not be afraid of what opposition may say. Bring up a man and say made enemies in this movement, and I am worth that (with a snap of the fingers) in movement. All over this United States are waiting. They are waiting till the telegraph the news of the nominee."

A NEW GAVEL.

A new gavel announced as coming, by the owners, from timber from the first entry in the United States was at this m.

Independent Party did not require to steal either its thunder or its noise.

An Oregon delegate claimed attention for a moment to present another gavel, in honor of the People's Party, achievements in the Oregon State election. The Chairman return brief thanks, amid cheering from all sides, the committee reports were announced as ready.

TAKES A RECESS TO SEE THE FOURTH OF JULY PARADE.

Taubeneck, of Illinois, was recognized, and said that at 10:30 the Omaha Fourth of July parade would be passing the Convention Hall, and was about to propose a recess, when a delegate interrupted with the statement that they should keep on with their business. Taubeneck nevertheless moved a recess for twenty minutes for the parade, and Col. Morton making a speech that it was a courtesy due to the citizens of Omaha, it was carried by a decided majority.

There was a good deal of disorder in the reassembling of the Convention after the Fourth of July parade intermission, and the twenty minutes' recess proved nearly an hour long, a part of the time being taken up with one of the numerous songs born of the growth of the new party. The Convention finally got to work, and the roll of States was called for.

attention to the fact that probably through oversight, the ticket agents on the line of the Pacific Railroad did not receive instructions to the delegates to the Convention the usual "in fares," and appointing a committee of communication to communicate with the officials to have this rectified. A delegate moved that the North Pacific and Great Northern roads be included in the resolution.

Instantly Marion Cannon, of California, protested against the resolution as exhibiting a lack of independent spirit in the Convention. Her vehement denunciation of the roads brought the Convention to its feet several times, and led to the liveliest discussion of the day.

"I want this Convention to understand, that it is not by accident or oversight that the West Coast delegates have been overlooked. Our courtesy for customary courtesy was denied deliberately with insolence. I do not want this Convention

roads, but producers of the earth—have been refused equal terms. We can stand the refusal." (Cheers.)

Up to this time Mr. Cannon showed evidence of his feeling by the increasing tremulousness of his tones. Now he grew livid with passion, as he swung his hat in the air, and declared, in tones that rang from end to end of the hall, that "we can tell those railroad companies that the people here will own and operate those yet." Here the enthusiasm and passion of the speaker extended to the audience. Every member rose, and cheers rent the air, handkerchiefs were waved, and it was several moments before the speaker could conclude.

Dean, of New York, grasped the matter to make politics out of it. There was an Inter-State Commission, and he moved that the resolution be brought before that organization, to see whether the law permitted railroads to discriminate in favor of National political convention against another. "Let's use this for the purpose of a political campaign," he said. The motion to make complaint to the commission was carried.

The Committee on Resolutions was still wrestling with the platform, and on a statement that it would be two hours before it could report, a recess until 2 P. M. was taken.

monium Reigns—Lady Delegates Cheering—Intense Exciting Houser's Telegram—Schilling Defends the Chairman Weaver and Powderly—Adjourned Until Evening.



THE delegates and spectators at the big Colliseum, this phenomenal Glee Club sang stage to the tune of Robin Hood.

The robber of old was simple and bold
And rarely put on any frills;
But the robber today has a different way
And the tax-payers foot up the bills.

A half dozen other airs followed, one being accompanied by a kicking shuffle of the feet, as if the basso prophetic vision, the gentle propulsion of an avalanche of voters of the old parties making a voluntary exit.

These songs served the double purpose of keeping the audience in good humor and a semblance of order.

It was 2:07 o'clock when Chairman Locks called the Convention to order, but it was after 3 p. m. before the delegates and visitors had secured seats and the Chairman had resulted in even a beginning of business tickets which had been withheld early in the day and had been got into hands that would use them, for the hall was almost completely filled. It was very fully a third of the delegates were in shirt sleeve dress and a telegram was read announcing that the Republican

these be considered while the other parts of the platform were being considered. This was apparently the first move on the part of the Weaver men to hasten the balloting. A suspicion had gained currency that the Committee on Resolutions was not anxious to make very speedy progress for the reason that it as a whole preferred Judge Gresham for the candidate, and wanted time to get an agreement from him that he would let the Convention nominate him. The motion was carried, but the committee reported that it was not prepared just yet to make a partial report.

ANXIOUS TO BEGIN BALLOTING.

George C. Ward, of Missouri, moved to suspend the rules and proceed to ballot for the nomination of candidates.

This was seconded, but there was no intention on the part of the ardent Gresham men to give up hope until the last straw upon which they leaned was broken, and an Illinois delegate made the point of order that the motion was contrary to the rules fixing an order of business. The Chairman overruled the point on the grounds that the Convention could do as it pleased. Ellington, of Georgia, moved the tabling of the motion, and carried his point by a very large majority. The Weaver men knew they were very strong on account of the Kyle telegrams and lack of assurances from Gresham that he would accept, and they wanted more speed on the wheels of the Convention.

Lamb, of Texas, a Weaver man, and also working for Terrell for Vice President, moved to adopt the entire St. Louis platform as the party platform. The motion was greeted with mingled cries of approval and disapproval.

Brown, of Massachusetts, made a speech on the subject, declaring, amid applause, that the St. Louis platform was the one on which the organizations of united labor stood. They did not intend that anything should be taken from it or added to it.

Delegate McDowell, of Tennessee, objected to the attempt to depart from proceedings advocated by last speaker, and Delegate Manning, the boy orator of Alabama, added his quota to the debate. His views, however, did not receive sufficient attention to enable the meeting to judge whether they favored the proposal of Mr. Brown or opposed it.

The effect of the proceedings in the Convention was to alarm the Resolutions Committee. They became stampeded, and soon filed on the stage with a platform hastily brought to a completion. Their appearance removed the cause for the fight on the floor, and it was permitted to go by the board. Then the Convention became silent while Thomas V. Cator,

The Committee on Rules adopted the following:
Cushing's Manual shall be chosen to regulate the proceedings of this Convention.

For the presentation of candidates for President the roll of States shall be called alphabetically.
Nominating speeches shall be limited to fifteen minutes.
Remarks on all questions of debate shall be limited to ten minutes.

In balloting the Secretary shall call the roll of States. The Chairman of each State shall announce the vote of the State as called. Each State delegation shall appoint tellers and collectors and count its own vote, and the Chairman shall announce its result to the Convention. The nominee shall receive a majority on the first ballot. If no nominee shall at once be taken, wherein each delegate must place on his ballot the name of his first choice and his second choice, placing the names in the order of his choice, first choice first, second choice second; a first choice being counted as one vote, a second choice one vote. The two receiving the largest number of votes shall be voted for on the third ballot, with other persons not being counted.

All resolutions offered before the Convention shall be read and referred to the Committee on Resolutions for debate. Each State and Territory shall be allowed an equal number of votes equal to the number of delegates reported by the Committee on Credentials.

Following shall be the order of business: The reading of the names of the National Committee; report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions; nomination of candidates for President; balloting for candidates for President; nomination of candidates for Vice President; balloting for candidates for Vice President. Vociferous signs of approval.

"As I understand the recommendation, said Mr. Brown, of Massachusetts, "you will limit this nomination to two candidates, and put yourself in a position where at no subsequent time, are you at liberty to retire both of them in favor of some new candidate."

"We understand that," shouted several delegates.

"Very well," said Mr. Brown.

A vote was then taken on the adoption of this recommendation, and it was declared carried by acclamation. Mr. Dea, of Oregon, desired to limit the nomination speeches to five minutes instead of fifteen, but the Convention, just at that moment, was more vitally interested in the serious question of how to conduct the balloting.

At this juncture the question of amending the Rules Committee's report so as to strike out the provision regarding second choice was sprung to another form.

Vandervoort, of Nebraska, opposed the provision for the retirement of candidates with only a small following.

"We believe," said he, "that any man that has a choice be permitted to exercise that choice without being muzzled, and that a man can stay in and be voted on even if he has only one vote, until the crack of doom." He proposed an amendment striking out the clause of the rule providing that after the second ballot all candidates except the two leaders shall be retired, and inserting a provision that when balloting begins candidates shall be voted for until there was a choice. This amendment prevailed by a large majority, so the rules as to balloting are in accordance of the customary rules in National Conventions.

PEOPLE'S PARTY PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT OMAHA, NEB., JULY 4, 1892.

PREAMBLE.—Assembled upon the one hundred and sixteenth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the People's party of America, in their first National Convention, invoking upon their action the blessing of Almighty God, puts forth, in the name and on behalf of the people of this country, the following preamble and declaration of principles:

The conditions which surround us best justify our co-operation. We meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of political and material ruin; corruption dominates the ballot-box, the Legislature, the Congress, and touching even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized; most of the States have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling places to prevent universal intimidation or bribery. The newspapers are subsidized or muzzled; public opinion

for self protection, imported, and their wages; a hireling standing army, unreco laws, is established to shoot them down, and th degenerating into European conditions. The fr of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal few, unprecedented in the history of mankind; sorsors of these, in turn, despise the repu danger liberty. From the same prolific won mental injustice we breed the two great classe millionaires. The national power to create me priated to enrich bond-holders; a vast public d legal tender currency, has been funded into bonds, thereby adding millions to the burdens o

Silver which has been used as coin since history, has been demonetized to add to the pur of gold by decreasing the value of all forms well as human labor, and the supply of curren abridged to fatten usurers, bankrupt enterpri industry. A vast conspiracy against mankind ganized on two continents, and is rapidly taking the world. If not met and overthrown at c terrible social convulsions, the destruction of the establishment of an absolute despotism.

STRUGGLE FOR POWER AND PLUNDER

We have witnessed for more than a quart the struggles of the two great political parties plunder, while grievous wrongs have been i suffering people. We charge that the contri dominating both these parties have permitt dreadful conditions to develop without seriou vent or restrain them. Neither do they prom

the altar of Mammon ; to destroy the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the millionaires.

Assembled on the anniversary of the birth of our nation, and filled with the spirit of the grand generation who established our independence, we seek to restore the government of the Republic to the hands of the "plain people," with whose class it originated. We assert our purpose to be identical with the purposes of the national constitution : To form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessing of liberty for ourselves and our posterity.

We declare that this republic can only endure as a free government while built upon the love of the whole people for each other and for the nation ; that it cannot be pinned together by bayonets ; that the civil war is over, and that every passion and resentment which grew out of it must die with it, and that we must be in fact, as we are in name, one united brotherhood of free men.

SUPPLY OF CURRENCY INADEQUATE.

Our country finds itself confronted by conditions for which there is no precedent in the history of the world ; our annual agricultural productions amount to billions of dollars in value, which must within a few weeks perhaps be exchanged for billions of dollars of commodities consumed in their production ; the existing currency supply is wholly inadequate to make this exchange. The results are falling prices, the formation of combines and rings, the impoverishment of the producing class. We pledge ourselves that if given power we will labor to correct these evils by wise and reasonable legislation in accordance with the terms of our platform.

We believe that the powers of government should be expanded as in the case of the postal service, as rapidly and as far as the good sense of an intelligent people and the teachings of experience shall justify, to the end that oppression, injustice and poverty shall eventually cease in the land.

While our sympathies, as a party of reform, are naturally upon the side of every proposition that will tend to make men intelligent, virtuous and temperate, we nevertheless regard these questions, important as they are, subordinate to the great issues now pressing for solution, and upon which not only our individual prosperity, but the very existence of free institutions depends ; and we ask all men to first help us determine whether we are to have a republic to administer before we differ as to the condition upon which it is to be admin-

States, this day consummated shall be perpetual. May its spirit come into all hearts for the republic and the uplifting of mankind.

2. Wealth belongs to him who creates dollar taken from industry, without an equivalent. "If any will not work, neither shall he eat." of rural and civic labor are the same; the identical.

We believe that the time has come when corporations will either own the people or the people the corporations. We believe that the railroads, and should the government enter of owning and managing any or all railroads, an amendment to the constitution by which engaged in the government service shall be placed under the service regulation of the most rigid character, the increase of the power of the national administration and the use of such additional government employ

PLATFORM.

FINANCE. First.—We demand a national sound and flexible, issued by the general government, full legal tender for all debts, public and private, without the use of banking corporations, a just efficient means of distribution direct to the people, not to exceed 2 per cent. to be provided as set for treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance, or some other plan, also by payment in discharge of its obligations and improvements.

a. We demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

b. We demand that the amount of currency be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.

c. We demand a graduated income tax.

LAND. Second.—The land, including all the natural resources of wealth, is the heritage of all the people and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens, should be reclaimed by the government, and held for actual settlers only.

TRANSPORTATION. Third.—Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people.

a. The telegraph and telephone, like the post-office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the government in the interest of the people.

PLATFORM ADOPTED.

Branch, of Georgia, read the platform proper. The strong sentences, picturing graphically the ruin of the country unless there was a reform were well received and met approbation, but when the sentences relating to Government ownership of transportation, the people's interest was reached, there was a demonstration which interrupted progress, ex-Senator Van Wyck, in the front of the hall, leading the Nebraska delegation and the Convention.

The reading of nearly every plank of the platform proper was received with some applause. The free silver plank was enthusiastically greeted with cheers, and the Government ownership of the railroads plank again got a tumultuous greeting, in which it was noticeable that Nebraska, Georgia, Kansas and Texas led. Applause and cries of "Amen" from all parts of the house was the reception accorded the paragraph favoring Government control of the telephone and telegraph lines. A regular Baptist camp-meeting chorus greeted the land plank.

The conclusion of the reading of the platform was warmly greeted. Its adoption was instantly moved, and, though a Missouri delegate was striving for some unknown purpose to get recognition, it was put through by unanimous consent, the whole Convention rising in advance of the Chair and adopting the platform almost before he could move its adoption.

CHEERING THE PLATFORM.

At once on the adoption of the platform the Convention broke over all restraint and went wild in a demonstration that had a likeness to description of enthusiastic Bastille demon-

minutes, and this scene between twenty minutes.

It began by the Convention rising in the ing, swinging coats, which had been taken o the heat, waving hats and fans, and throwi air. All the delegates were on their feet an crowded with members of the Committee Several delegates seized Branch, of Georgia trotted him up and down the main aisle on t

The uproar continued tremendously. A number of delegates seized the uprights used ards designating the place of State delegatio rushed with them to the platform, forming a whole platform. Banners were also borne t Yorkers seized old man Lloyd, of New York ruddy, face, long, white locks and beard gav Winkle aspect, and, bearing him on their him in the very front of the phalanx on the was handed a baton, and enthusiastically be cheering of the crowd.

ENTHUSIASM RAMPANT.

The enthusiasm continued as great as e banner was warmly greeted. Frontier cou placard inscribed "What is home without s all speak at once." A picture of a settler' it, and on the reverse side on a big gold pic "Twenty toller, 1892." The portrait device that of a money-lender with long, avaricio chin. Tennessee's banner pledged eighty the new party. Virginia had George V

A new freak at this movement seized an almost delirious delegate, and gave fresh vent to the feelings of the excited mammoth assemblage. The banners and placards were rushed down from the stage and an impromptu procession, to which new adherents were constantly received, was started around the body of the hall in which the delegates sat, a band of drummers heading the marchers. Connecticut's banner said: "Congress, and not the people, be damned; Shylock's twins, Grover and Ben."

LADY DELEGATES SHARE THE ENTHUSIASM.

The crowd broke forth again in applause; the women joined in the movement, and, getting in line, marched with their male associates, shouting encouraging cries of "Right, sister."

The enthusiasm showed itself in countless eccentricities. Texas has a coffee-can, supposed to represent a tin pail, on the end of its pole, and women's hats, a silk tile and other head-gear adorned others. The leaders finally concluded to stem the tide, and with vigorous efforts endeavored for a long time, by pushing and hectoring their delegates, to restore order, but it took some minutes to accomplish this. The remarkable demonstration still continued, and, forming in the center of the hall, the band played "Yankee Doodle" and "Dixie," while the effervescence of the audience continued to expend itself in volcanic cheering.

S. M. Scott, State Lecturer of the Kansas Alliance, when he got an opportunity, aided by other singers on the stages started up "Good-bye, Old Party, Good-bye," the delegate, joining in. "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," played by a second band, closed the extraordinary Fourth of July celebration of the new party. Now came a marvelous climax, Taubeneck, of Illinois, the Chairman of the National Committee, had during the last part of the scene of the adoption of the platform been despairing of making himself heard. He was on his chair wildly waving a telegram just received. The surmise that it was from Gresham spread like wild-fire, and from all over the hall people ran to get information from Taubeneck while others became excited and added to the confusion by holding down their neighbors. The people on the stage were the noisiest, and Ingersoll, of Kansas, regardless of the rapping of the Chairman's gavel, excitedly rushed up and vehemently warned them to keep quiet. Chairman Loucks, whose speech on first taking the gavel in the morning had stamped him as an anti-Gresham man, sought now to create a diversion against the imminent stampede of the Convention to Gresham. The

question before old politicians or to-day. And
dency. The platform is never discussed. At
enthusiasm was after the man who had the po
pose of had been named. Here we have our
the platform on which the party is going before
Can there be a greater contrast in the character
and who can doubt which party has the people

Taubeneck by this time was on the platform
was comparative quiet, but attention was again
the matter of real interest by the Chairman recogni
Taubeneck a delegate named Wadsworth, of Indiana.

"Glory to God," began Mr. Wadsworth, "and
"and peace on earth," and after this pious exclamation
on with a more or less rambling address of great
length. "We will soon," said he, "name a man
us out of the wilderness. We have met at Omaha
go straight to Washington. With the man whose
name as our standard-bearer, our party will triumph
lanche which gathers strength as it reaches down
and woe to him who stands in its way." At the
impatience of delegates and spectators was
dangerous pitch, and the orator suddenly subsided.

HAUSER'S TELEGRAM READ.

Mr. Taubeneck, telegram in hand, was again
newed cheers and confusion, accorded a hearing.
"Ladies and gents," said Chairman Taubeneck
was restored, "I have just received a telegram
Hauser, of Indiana. I trust you may know his
place in it when I tell you who he is. He is the
date for Lieutenant Governor on the People's
the author of the celebrated work, "Is Marriage
This the telegram: 'I have seen

that Gresham will accept if nominated unanimously. (Cries of "That's right," and more cheering.) I hold in my hand a letter from Mr. Mann Page, Chairman of the Virginia State Alliance, in which he tells me that his name may go before this Convention for the Presidential nomination, and, after a full, free and fair expression of the will of the Convention, he is prepared to abide by the result. (Faint cheers and laughter.) That is just a little, but better than Mr. Gresham, who wants it unanimous." Here the audience arose en masse. "Gresham, Gresham; three cheers for Gresham! Hurrah for Gresham," rang through the hall for several seconds, and the words were accompanied by wild manifestations of enthusiasm.

"Keep cool," shouted Chairman Loucks, "and listen to the speaker; every man will have his turn." Brown, who was trying to continue his remarks, fairly yelled: "I do not propose to attempt to stampede the Convention with the aid of the gallery. That is an old party trick."

A volley of hisses, loud and long continued, greeted this statement, and again the Chairman interfered, shouting: "This is a disgrace to this Convention."

CALLED DOWN BY SCHILLING OF WISCONSIN.

Instantly Robert Schilling, of Wisconsin, sprang to his feet. "No gentleman has a right to insult the Chairman of our National Convention and our first Convention," he said amid ringing cheers. "No one has a right to insult us by making charges and fraudulent insinuations about the party's Chairman." (Wild cheers.)

Indescribable confusion followed, and recriminations were hurled back and forth by the two factions. When silence was restored A. R. Brown, of Massachusetts, at once demanded attention.

"If in anything I have said or done in the heat of the moment," he said, "I have insulted our National Committee Chairman, for whom I entertain a profound respect, I humbly apologize. (Applause.) And I apologize to this Convention that I should have been disorderly a short time ago." (Renewed applause.) At this moment Mrs. Lease, the imposing-looking female lecturer of the Alliance in Kansas, was seen elbowing her way through the crowd on the stage in order to reach the front of the platform. The Chairman immediately recognized her, and she, waving her hand to the Convention, shouted in her peculiarly stentorian voice: "I, too, have received a message. I am authorized to say that if the nomina-

ham, and who is bitterly opposed to him moved from office by Gresham, when the master General, claimed recognition, with terity he shifted his position and assumed the ham enthusiast. "If it is true," said he, Gresham will accept on the platform of the will support him with all my heart and second in this Convention. In the interest of hastenest of unanimous nomination, in the interest and for the People's party, in the interest of peace, in the hope that we can all join here to personal feelings, trampling under foot selfish above men and placing ourselves upon the move that this Convention adjourn after no are made until 7 P. M. (Applause followed

A RUSE TO GAIN TIME.

The Gresham people, however, recognized to defeat their candidate, and Mr. Vandevoo was received with but little favor. Recognition attempt was a failure, he said: "Now, Mr. that this convention proceed slowly. I trust o'clock we can hear from that committee the the grandest man in this country." Fully five confusion ensued. Mr. Vandevoo's motion taken after the nominating speeches, was for the Chairman to be carried, and nominating now announced to be in order. Again

nounced this as a scheme of delay unworthy of the recognition of the People's party.

"This motion to adjourn," said he, "is made for the purpose of preventing us reaching the man should we want to. After 8 o'clock it will be impossible to reach Judge Gresham if it should be necessary. (Prolonged applause.)

POWDERLY AND WEAVER ENTER THE HALL.

At this moment, T. V. Powderly, Grand Master of the Knights of Labor, and James B. Weaver, who appeared to be practically assured of the Presidential nomination in the event Gresham were not chosen, entered the hall side by side. Their appearance was the signal for prolonged cheers, lasting several minutes, and as they were escorted to the stage a brief era of good feeling was ventured.

Hardly had General Weaver stepped on the platform, however, before Mrs. Lense, of Kansas, rushed up to him and said: "Do not desert us, General, you are the choice of the people; you are the country's choice." Weaver shook her hand, smiled cordially and replied that if assurances were received from Gresham himself that he was willing to accept on the People's party platform he was for Gresham, but he agreed with his friends that it would be wisest to be authoritatively informed of the Judge's intentions before nominating him as a People's party candidate for the Presidency.

The question now recurred on the motion for a recess until 7:30, but it was so vehemently opposed by the Gresham people that a call of States was demanded. This meant a half-hour's delay, but there seemed no way of avoiding it until Mr. F. S. Norton, of Illinois, finally gained the floor, and asked permission to make a statement in the interest of harmony.

"I want to know," said he, "if it is in order to move to suspend the roll-call and make a motion to adjourn till 8 o'clock, and put ourselves together, for God knows we need it." (Great laughter and applause.) Mr. Norton's little speech seemed like pouring oil on the troubled waters, and by unanimous consent the rules were suspended and the motion to adjourn until 8 p. m., being substituted for the pending motion, prevailed.





HON. JAMES H. KYLE,
SENATOR FROM SOUTH DAKOTA.

CHAPTER VIII.

SPEECHES AND NOMINATIONS.

Adoption of Resolutions—Indorsement of
Gresham's Ultimatum Nomination Speeches—A Stan
—The Ballot—Weaver's Nomination Made Unanim
Vice President—Executive Committee.



DELEGATES were p
riving for the night s
first actual business was
by Chairman Branch, of the
Committee, of a supplement
form, as follows :

ADOPTION OF RESOLUTIONS.

"Your Committee on Platform and
beg leave unanimously to report the follo

" *Whereas*, Other questions have bee
for our consideration, we hereby submit t
not as a part of the platform of the Pec
but as resolutions

vention, through the adoption, by the States, of the unpurverted Australian or secret ballot system.

"2. *Resolved*, That the revenue derived from a graduated income tax should be applied to the reduction of the burden of taxation now levied upon the the domestic industries of this country.

"3. *Resolved*, That we pledge our support to fair and liberal pensions to ex-Union soldier and sailors.

"4. *Resolved*, That we condemn the fallacy of protecting American labor under the present system, which opens our ports to the pauper and criminal classes of the world, and crowds our wage earners; and we denounce the present ineffective laws against contract labor, and demand the further restriction of undesirable immigration.

"5. *Resolved*, That we cordially sympathize with the efforts of organized workingmen to shorten the hours of labor, and demand a rigid inforcement of the existing eight-hour law on general work, and ask that a special clause be added to said law.

"6. *Resolved*, That we regard the maintainance of a large standing army of mercenaries, known as the Pinkerton system, as a menace to our liberties, and we demand its abolition; and we condemn the recent invasion of the Territory of Wyoming by the hired assassins of plutocracy, assisted by Federal officers.

"7. *Resolved*, That we commend to the thoughtful consideration of the people, and the reform press,

people.

"9. *Resolved*, That we oppose National aid to any private corporate purpose."

The resolutions were adopted.

THE BOYCOTT INDORSED.

Mr. Branch introduced Hugh C. Ohio, Secretary of the Resolution Committee, read the following resolutions, adopted by the committee:

"*Resolved*, That this Convention with the Knights of Labor in their right with the tyrannical combine of clothing manufacturers of Rochester, and declares it to be the duty to hate tyranny and oppression to refuse to buy goods made by the said manufacturers, and any merchants who sell such goods."

Mr. Branch of T

He believed in that principle of nature which binds every living being to its friends. "There is no such thing as a boycott," he said. "It only consists in letting your enemies alone and staying with your friends." He wanted to boycott the plutocratic Senators who spent about \$5,000 a year of the people's money for a barbershop, pomade, lavender and rose water. He wanted this boycott kept up till every vestige of this is gone, and the people again have their rights.

Then came the best speech of the night on the question, one by Ignatius Donnelly. The resolution, he declared, was in keeping with the spirit of the preamble to the platform adopted with so much unanimity earlier in the day. "The Rochester clothing manufacturers have said to 16,000 of their workmen and workwomen that they could not gain a means of livelihood without yielding their rights as American citizens," Mr. Donnelly said. "On this there can be no compromise."

At this declaration the hall rang with cheers, renewed again and again, the voice of T. V. Powderly, of the Knights of Labor, making itself distinct above the general din.

Resuming, Mr. Donnelly said: "If this resolution was simply to express our prejudice of a class, I should not support it. It is a declaration that free men will not clothe their limbs in the goods of the manufacturers of this slave-making oligarchy. (Loud Cheers.) It is war to the knife and the knife to the

number of others rose and grasped the hand.

A Kansas delegate moved the [] and on a rising vote the motion to strike the Scott clause overwhelmingly defeated. It was then adopted by acclamation.

GRESHAM'S ULTIMATUM

During the Knights of Labor Gresham movement receive its coup following dispatch from Judge Gresham

CHICAGO

*To J. B. Weaver, Ignatius Donnelly,
John W. Hayes.*

I have just returned and find your list. I must stand by my dispatch to Mr. [] Accept my grateful acknowledgement

PUBLIC OFFICERS SHALL NOT BE DELEGATES.

A resolution declaring against the presence of public officers, naming Senators, Congressmen, members of Legislature, State and National, at Conventions, was then reported from the Resolutions Committee. It declares that no person holding any office or position of profit, trust or emolument, and of the Federal or any State or municipal government, shall be eligible to sit or vote in any Convention of the People's Party. The resolution went through with a whoop and without discussion.

NOMINATING SPEECHES.

Then came the roll call of the States for the presentation of candidates for the Presidency. The first State, Alabama, was scarcely shouted by the Secretary when J. S. Manning arose and promptly placed in nomination General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, amid prolonged cheers.

An enthusiastic delegate from California said his State was divided on the Presidency, but that he would vote for Weaver. (Cheers.)

The place of Colorado was yielded to Colonel S. F. Norton, of Illinois, who placed Senator Kyle, of South Dakota, in nomination. Colonel Norton said the man he should name had already won his spurs in the brainiest and shrewdest assembly in the United States. The man he should name stood there as a

nat of ancestry could hide him from
candidate was a broad and libera
was not impossible or improbable th
might place the man he would na
House—that grand, magnificent
Kyle, of South Dakota. (Much ch

A Connecticut delegate said
one who came from the State which
ington and a Jefferson—James G.
(Applause.)

Stephen Bashor, of Illinois, past
sive Church, said that the People's
on principles, not men, and it demar
biggest, brainiest and squarest man
That man was Senator Van Wyck.

Morris L. Wheat, of Iowa, spe
Weaver.

Mrs. Lease, of Kansas, seconded
nation.

Major Henry Webb, of Massac
for Governor of his State on the Peo

Joe Waldrop, of Portland, Ore., seconded the nomination of Weaver. At this juncture Indiana, which had asked to be passed in the first call, made a request to be heard by the Chairman of her delegation. He stated that Indiana had listened to all that had been said by her sister States in order to ascertain the choice of all the great States of the Union. This choice had seemed to be for General Weaver, of Iowa, but that it is now announced that the solid vote of the Hoosier State would be cast for the Iowa candidate. (Prolonged applause.)

The Virginia delegation also withdrew the name of its sons and declared unanimously in favor of General Weaver.

G. B. Hanna, of Washington, declaring that the two old parties named their President through the aid of English capital, supported the name of Weaver as a fitting representative of the People's Party.

West Virginia announced that it would cast a solid vote for Weaver.

A STAMPEDE FOR WEAVER.

The announcement from Indiana was the cue for other States, and a landslide and a rush to get into the Weaver band-wagon.

New York had been passed, and Farmer Dean now appeared on the stage to say the New York delegates agreed with New England to remain neutral and allow the South and West to select the can-

through an announcement from one
Other men were on their feet to make
ments, but were cut short by an indig
Schilling, of Wisconsin, that it was
these announcements, and by allowi
called after they had been recognis
the Convention.

C. C. Post, Chairman of the Gen
got an opportunity, however, to say
which had been one of the strongest
to Weaver, would withdraw her support
with the consent of the Convention
nomination unanimous.

From the very beginning of the r
led all his competitors and so over
the vote cast for him that his nominat
cally assured before the ballot was
The Weaver infection seemed to spread

resulted as follows, only one ballot necessary, Weaver being successful beyond a cavil:

THE BALLOT WAS AS FOLLOWS:

	Weaver	Kyle		Weaver	Kyle
Alabama.....	43	...	Montana.....	...	12
Arkansas.....	12	20	Nebraska.....	23	8
California.....	25	...	Nevada.....	...	7
Colorado.....	6	10	New Jersey.....	4	...
Connecticut.....	8	2	New York.....	59	...
Delaware.....	1	...	North Carolina.....	20	5
Florida.....	16	...	North Dakota.....	11	1
Georgia.....	13	39	Ohio.....	30	22
Idaho.....	12	...	Oregon.....	16	...
Illinois.....	41	42	Pennsylvania.....	29	...
Indiana.....	54	5	South Dakota.....	1	15
Iowa.....	52	...	Tennessee.....	48	...
Kansas.....	40	...	Texas.....	60	...
Kentucky.....	40	...	Virginia.....	48	...
Louisiana.....	32	...	Washington.....	16	...
Maine.....	6	2	West Virginia.....	17	...
Massachusetts.....	9	18	Wisconsin.....	7	41
Michigan.....	56	...	Wyoming.....	9	...
Minnesota.....	27	9	District of Columbia	8	...
Mississippi.....	27	...	Oklahoma.....	8	...
Missouri.....	61	7			
			Totals.....	995	265

Scattering: Norton 1, Page 1, Stanford 1.

Norton, of Illinois, moved to make the nomination unanimous, and Schilling, of Wisconsin, Washburn, of Massachusetts, and the delegates from South Dakota, Montana and Massachusetts seconded the nomination. It was carried with a hurrah and loud cheering, ending with calls for "Weaver."

Turner, of Alabama, presented Terrell, of Texas, J. Brad. Beverly and Gen. James G. Field, of Virginia. These nominations were met with little speech. These nominations were from many States. J. H. Turner, of Georgia, seconded the nomination of Terrell with a forcible and able speech, which secured the convention that Gen. Field was the only one whose objections were developed against the nomination which appeared to increase as the day progressed.

COMPLETELY WORN OUT

Delegates are but human. There was a terrible strain since 8 o'clock in the morning. There is a limit to everyone's endurance. As delegates from the different States began to make remarks on the nomination of Terrell, owing to the lateness of the hour, the convention just at this juncture, the committee

Every one seemed to be in haste to finish the nominations, and a ballot was ordered, with the following result:

	Field	Terrell		Field	Terrell
Alabama.....	...	43	Montana.....	...	12
Arkansas.....	32	...	Nebraska.....	12	20
California.....	22	3	New Jersey.....	...	10
Colorado.....	16	...	New York.....	59	...
Connecticut.....	3	1	North Carolina.....	15	10
Delaware.....	1	...	North Dakota.....	...	12
Florida.....	...	16	Ohio.....	36	35
Georgia.....	15	1	Oregon.....	8	8
Idaho.....	12	...	Pennsylvania.....	29	1
Illinois.....	35	30	Rhode Island.....	1	...
Indiana.....	30	30	South Dakota.....	8	8
Iowa.....	4	48	Tennessee.....	22	26
Kansas.....	36	4	Texas.....	...	60
Kentucky.....	20	20	Virginia.....	48	...
Louisiana.....	...	32	Washington.....	10	6
Maine.....	8	...	West Virginia.....	...	17
Maryland.....	28	...	Wisconsin.....	32	16
Massachusetts.....	30	...	Wyoming.....	9	...
Michigan.....	50	6	District of Columbia	5	1
Minnesota.....	27	9	Oklahoma.....	...	8
Mississippi.....	...	27			
Missouri.....	34	34	Totals.....	773	554

The nomination of Gen. Field was made unanimous. The candidates were called to the platform and received an enthusiastic ovation.

WEAVER'S ACCEPTANCE.

"You can not imagine," said the General, "the

than I ever saw in a Convention of this magnitude. (Applause.) I wish to thank the name of the people of this country for the work here, for the sacrifices you have made, for the labors you have endured. I have seen many Conventions in this country, and I say to you that this is the greatest of them all. (Cheers.) Over this magnificent gathering I rejoice that the cause of the people, which so long has been laboring for years to advance, now has unmistakable evidence of speedy triumph.

"This is the grandest moment of our history. It is rallying the best hearts and best minds of the nation around the three contentions of the day—the great land problem, the great currency problem, and the great and overwhelming problem of transportation. (Applause.) The centers around which this great movement

sent to rescue the government from the grasping federated monopolies, and restore it to the great common people to which it belongs. (Applause.)

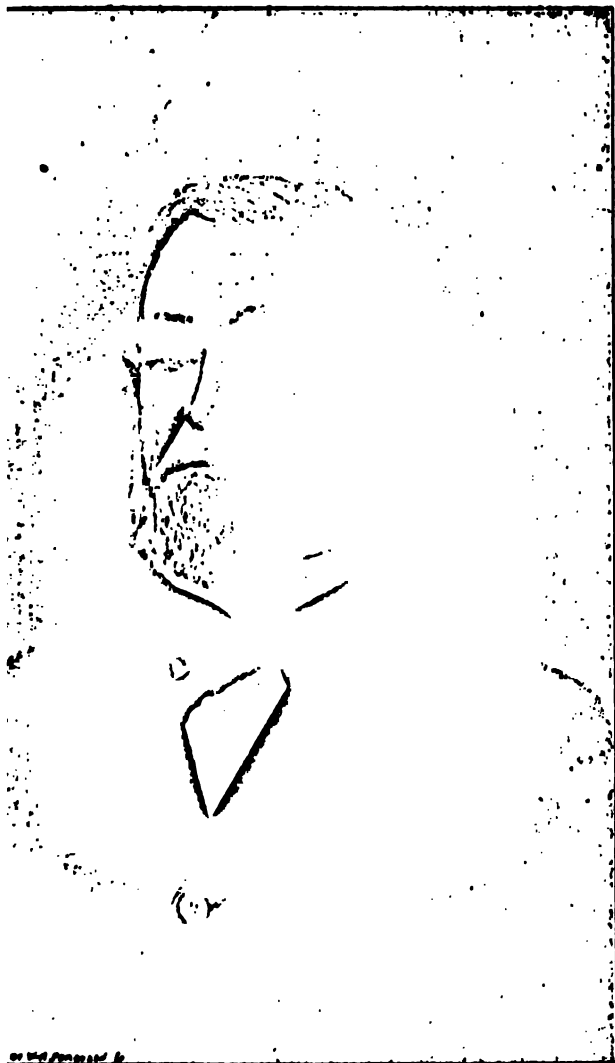
"I wish to thank you for the distinguished honor that you have conferred upon me, and promise you that, in so far as it shall be within my power, your standard shall not be trailed in the dust or lowered during this campaign. (Applause.) And I wish to make you here and now a promise that if God spares me, and gives me strength, I shall visit every State in the Union, and carry the banner of the people into the enemy's camp. (Applause.)

"And now having placed a ticket in the field, I humbly ask that you will stand by it ('we will; we will;') that you will stand by the principles of your platform—the greatest ever given to the American or any other people. (Applause.) At some future time I shall be pleased to signify to you and the American people, in a proper and formal manner, my acceptance of this distinguished honor, and to give the world a reason for 'the hope that is within us.'"

Gen. Field also made a short speech which captured the delegates and aroused immense enthusiasm.



H. E. TAUBENECK
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN PEOPLE'S



JAMES GAVEN FIELD.

OF
Hon. James Gave

CHAPTER IX.

CAREER OF THE NOMINEE FOR THE VI

**Birth and Ancestry—A Teacher in F
Enters the Law—Attorney General for the
Virginia—One of the Famous Culpepp
With the Raiders Who Captured Harper's
at the Battle of Slaughter Mountain—Hi
Home Near Gordonsville—A Prominent V
tist Church—Takes the Stump for the Peo**



**NOMINEE of the
for the high office
dent, Hon. James G
born in Walnut, Cu
Virginia, February 24**

presently he is in his 64th ye

new. One of these ancestors, John Field was a noted scientist in his day and was knighted for his astronomical discoveries. Cyrus Field just dead and Justice Stephen D. Field of the United States Supreme Court are lineal descendants of the same family as the subject of this sketch, and so was Gen. Charles W. Field who distinguished himself as a division commander in the army of Northern Virginia.

The Virginia family naturally sided with the colonies in their struggle for independence, and the name figures prominently in the record of the conference held at Williamsburg to protest against the oppressions of the mother country.

In both the war of 1812 and the Mexican war of '45, the family of Fields contributed its quota of distinguished soldiers, and in the civil war three members of the family were slain in combat, and two others were maimed by wounds.

HIS EARLY CAREER.

In his earlier years he was a teacher, and in 1848 he went to California with the Argonauts, and in 1850 he was selected as one of the secretaries of the convention that framed the first constitution of the State. Later he returned to Virginia. He was trained for the law, which has been his life profession, and at an early age he went into politics. Of course he was a Democrat.

law office at Culpepper after the war an
tive part in the politics of his County a
ing always with the Democratic pa
Governor Kemper selected him to fill t
term as Attorney General, and he wa
candidate for this office and was electe
that made Holliday, Democrat, the Gov
ing 100,982 votes; beyond this Mr. Fie
no office, but has seemed to prefer the q
tentment of his home circle.

He enlisted in the Confederate a
17, 1861, resigning his position as count
that purpose. He was one of the same
minute men who carried a banner
rattlesnake for a device and "Don't t
for a motto. He was one of the raide
tured Harper's Ferry.

A MISNOMER OF THE NEWSPA

The newspapers generally have

there, and the federal artillery were sweeping off everything above the soldier's heads. He was mounted and a piece of shell plowed its way through his horses shoulder, cut the stirrup leathers and crushed his leg below the knee. and amputation followed.

Except when incapacitated by wounds he was continuously in the service from the beginning of the war until the surrender at Appomattox.

WHY HE LEFT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Located as he is with Monticello, the home of Jefferson, on one side of him, and Montpelier, the estate of Madison, on the other, he has from the very nature of his surroundings, as well as from choice, affiliated with the Democratic party, but his idea is that the Democracy has outlived its usefulness. So is it with the Republicans. The caucus has taken possession of their representatives in Congress, and the two parties have surrendered whatever of principles they once claimed to represent. The war has been ended a quarter of a century, and yet we find these old party commanders fighting their battles over again as vigorously as ever, and crimination and recrimination is the order instead of fraternity and good will. He sees in the birth of the new party the dawn of a newer and brighter era for both sections—a tangible something that means something more substantial than platitudes and promises.

them and advised them to organize
demand their rights.

The nomination of General James G
Vice-President by the People's Party
was a surprise throughout Virginia. Wh
been mentioned for the position it was be
that his chances would be killed by the as
Col. Robert Beverly, one of the delegates
ginia who went to Omaha, fully determin
ture the Vice-Presidency if it came to the

HIS HOME AT GORDONSVILLE

Those who travel east by the great
and Ohio Railroad, or those from Richm
route, will remember Gordonsville as
where they change cars for Washingto
northeast. This picturesque little tow
almost under the shadow of the sun-
Ridge. The railroad seems to skillful
way into the town through the gorge a
in its matchless verdur

great office of President, and the home of Mr. Field is reached.

A TYPICAL VIRGINIAN HOME.

And such a home! A grand old house set back from the pike on a commanding eminence, verandahed, shaded and cool, with the grassy lawns spreading away on every side. It is a typical Virginia home indeed, a home that is seen nowhere else on this broad continent save in the Piedmont region of the Old Dominion. The proprietor of this valuable estate, which, by the way, embraces 2,000 acres of the choicest land, met the writer at the threshold—nay, better than that, at the very gateway—and the hearty welcome every stranger is accorded by these big-hearted people was uttered before our name or mission was known.

A PRACTICAL AND THEORETICAL FARMER.

Mr. Field is a farmer and he says his lands are very fine and are most interesting to look upon, but he finds that farming does not pay. He takes a lively interest in raising fine breeds of stock. He keeps a pretty flock of shropshire sheep, black faces and takes great pride in his fine drove of holstein and short-horns, crossed.

Like President Harrison, Mr. Field is a lover of sports and about his charming country home are to be seen a large number of thoroughbred setters, pointers, &c.

A BAPTIST WORKER.

Mr. Field is a prominent member of the Baptist denomination, and takes quite an active part in church affairs. He is the President of the General Association of Baptists at this time, and has been for several years past.

TAKES THE STUMP FOR THE PEOPLE.

In a remarkably short time after the election, Mr. Field has taken the stump to expound the views and principles of the Independent Party. He has hoped that a very large number of the people would be so fortunate as to hear "General Field" along with General Weaver, the two strongest team. The first shot of the campaign was fired at Vincennes, Indiana. There was a very enthusiastic attendance, the meetings were well attended on Fair Grounds. Thrilling speeches were made by both of the standard bearers and several others prominently connected with the reform movement.

TO THE REFORM PRESS.

them out. The time has come for battle, no shrinking from duty now. Everybody must do what is in his power to advance our cause.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That the National Committee of the People's Party request the reform press to urge, with all its force and influence, that upon the 24th day of July, or as much earlier as possible, every People's Party club and organization in the United States meet and collect funds for the National campaign; that they then adjourn to meet again on the 16th day of August, the anniversary of the battle of Bennington, the first battle of the American Revolution, and that on that day meetings be held in every township to collect funds for the national campaign, since without funds we cannot make the fight for reform with any hope of success.

CAMPAIGN MUST BE SUSTAINED.

The people must sustain this campaign with their means as well as their votes, or it may fail, and with it the hopes of the people for justice and prosperity in this and all future generations. The meetings in country districts shall be held at 10 o'clock a. m., and the meetings in the villages and cities at 8 o'clock p. m., and all money collected shall be at once transmitted to M. C. Rankin, of Terre Haute, Ind., treasurer of the National Committee of the People's Party. And we suggest that on said 10th day of August the people devote the day to this great

be to make a thorough canvass of the precinct for contributions. And in the above method of raising money we have four funds to be known as the "ten-dollar fund," the "five-dollar campaign fund," the "fifty-cent campaign fund," and we request our friends of the cause who are able to do so, to publish their names and contributions directly in the reform press of the respective States; provided that contributions shall be allowed, if they desire to pay in monthly installments.

We also urge that every speaker of the People's Party shall take up collections for the campaign fund wherever they may appear.

THE LADIES URGED TO ORGANIZE

We also urge that the ladies who sympathize with the People's party in their respective States shall be urged and requested by the reformers to organize.

they are given means enough to put speakers in the field and supply the people with campaign literature.

A striking evidence of the revolution now going on is found in the fact that a Kentucky delegate offered the following resolution and it was unanimously adopted:

That the People's Party of the United States earnestly request the women of the country to organize at once and help us in this contest because we are fighting to save not only them and ourselves, but the coming generations from plutocratic slavery.

H. E. TAUBENECK, Chairman.

M. C. RANKIN, Treasurer.

J. H. TURNER, Secretary.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Alabama—John B. Ware, Birmingham; J. C. Manning, Birmingham; Geo. F. Gaither, Walnut Grove.

Arkansas—J. W. Dollison, Rector; J. M. Pittman, Prescott; E. R. Ray, Eureka Springs.

California—H. R. Shaw, Warm Springs; Jesse Poundstone, Pueblo; Dr. Alex Coleman, Denver.

Connecticut—Robert Pyne, 23 Brown street, Hartford; Alfred S. Houghton, Seymour, Box 725; H. C. Baldwin, Naugatuck.

Florida—S. S. Harvey, Molino; P. Jenkins, Seville; F. H. Lytle, Ocala.

Georgia—J. H. Turner, La Grange; G. H. Ellington, Thompson; J. F. Brown, Cameron.

Idaho—A. T. Lane, Farmington; J. H. Anderson, Weiser; D. R. Munro, Shoshone.

Illinois—H. E. Taubeneck, Marshall; Eugene Smith, Chicago; J. D. Hess Pittsfield.

Indiana—M. C. Rankin, Terre Haute; C. A. Robinson, Fountaintown; Frazier Thomas, Delphi.

Louisiana—G. W. Bruce, Pineville,
 Grand Cane; I. J. Milla, Welsh.
 Maine—H. S. Hobbs, Rockland
 worth; E. W. Boynton, Augusta.
 Maryland—N. A. Dunning, Hyatt
 Woodstock; E. S. Heffon, Federalburg
 Massachusetts—G. F. Washburn, Boston
 Charleston; Peter Gardener, Danvers.
 Michigan—J. O. Zabel, Petersburg;
 craft; Edward T. Greece, Detroit, 28 Bu
 Nebraska—L. D. Chamberland,
 Stockton, Sidney; V. O. Strickler, Omaha
 Nevada—
 New Jersey—John Wilcox, 48 Mag
 ton; J. R. Buchanan, 32 Vesey street, New
 W. Hayes, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
 Minnesota—Ignatius Donnelly, Hastings
 Soft Center; H. B. Martin, 323 Nicollet
 Mississippi—G. W. Dyer, Batesville
 Crystal Springs; N. J. Bradford, Pontotoc
 Missouri—M. V. Carroll, Butler; A.
 M. Gooch, Shelbyville.
 Montana—C. W. Hascom, Butte
 Glendive; J. H. Boucher, Lockett & Leis
 New York—L. J. McParlin, Lockport
 East 52d street, New York; L. C. Rober
 North Carolina—W. R. Lindsay,
 Long, Ashville; L. O. Wilson, Raleigh.
 North Dakota—Walter Muir, Hunt
 Jessie; H. Michaelson, Bismarck.
 Ohio—Hugo Pryer, Cleveland; M.

Indian Territory—

New Mexico—

Oregon—Joe Waldrop, 312 Freemont street, Portland; J. W. Marksberry, Gold Hill; Chas. E. Fitch, Le Grande.

Pennsylvania—V. A. Letier, Danville; Jed H. Leslie, New Castle; J. B. Aikin, Washington.

Rhode Island—

South Dakota—A. Wardall, Huron; A. M. Allen, Webster; Fred Zipp, Bedwood.

Tennessee—W. F. Gwynne, Memphis, box 67; W. E. Wilkes, Memphis, 37 Jefferson street; L. K. Taylor, Nashville.

Texas—Thos. Gaines, Comanche; R. W. Coleman, San Antonio; J. H. Davis, Sulphur Springs.

Vermont—

Virginia—J. H. Hobson, Belona; Major Mann Page, Brandon; Captain S. H. Newberry, Bland Court House.

Washington—C. W. Young, Pullman; M. F. Knox, Sullivan Block, Seattle; D. B. Hanna, Tacoma.

West Virginia—S. H. Piersol, Parkersburg; John E. Staley, Clarksburg; N. W. Fitzgerald, Terra Alto.

Oklahoma—P. O. Cassidy, Guthrie; P. M. Gilbert, Edmond; B. F. Mauk, Dover.

Alabama.....
 Arkansas.....
 California.....
 Colorado.....
 Connecticut.....
 Delaware.....
 Florida.....
 Georgia.....
 Idaho.....
 Illinois.....
 Indiana.....
 Iowa.....
 Kansas.....
 Kentucky.....
 Louisiana.....
 Maine.....
 Maryland.....
 Massachusetts.....
 Michigan.....
 Minnesota.....
 Mississippi.....
 Missouri.....
 Montana.....
 Nebraska.....
 Nevada.....
 New Hampshire.....
 New Jersey.....
 New York.....
 North Carolina.....
 North Dakota.....
 Ohio.....
 Oregon.....
 Pennsylvania.....
 Rhode Island.....
 South Carolina.....
 South Dakota.....
 Tennessee.....
 Texas.....
 Vermont.....

CHAPTER X.

THE OTHER PLATFORMS.

Republican Platform Adopted at Minneapolis, June 10, 1892—Democratic Platform Adopted at Chicago, June 22, 1892—Prohibition Platform Adopted at Cincinnati, June 21, 1892.

REPUBLICAN PARTY PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., JUNE 10, 1892.

The representatives of the Republicans of the United States assembled in general Convention on the shores of the Mississippi River the ever-lasting bond of an indestructible Republic whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the Republican party, congratulate their country-men on the majestic march of the nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1868, vindicated by victory at the polls, and prosperity in our fields, workshops and mines, and make the following declaration of principles:

We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican congress. We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home. We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the tariff act of 1890. We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our tariff laws, as is manifested by their attacks upon wool, lead and lead ores, the chief products of a number of States, and we ask the people for their judgement thereon. We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity, under which our export trade has vastly increased and new and enlarged markets have been opened to the products of our farms and workshops. We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by a Republican administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallicism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power

under the laws, are the foundation of our Republican institutions; party will never relent its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every election.

We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated against American citizens for political reasons in certain Southern States and the Union.

We favor the extension of our foreign commerce; the restoration of our mercantile marine by home built ships and the creation of a navy for the protection of our national interests and the honor of our country; the maintenance of most friendly relations with all foreign powers; a firm alliance with none, and the protection of the rights of our flag.

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine and believe in the achievement of manifest destiny of the Republic in its broadest sense.

We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and regulations for the restriction of criminal, pauper and contract immigration.

We favor efficient legislation by Congress to protect the limbs of employes of transportation companies engaged in interstate commerce, and recommend legislation by the respective States that will protect employes engaged in State commerce, in mining and manufacturing.

The Republican party always has been the champion of the oppressed and recognizes the dignity of manhood, irrespective of faith, color or nationality; it sympathizes with the cause of Home Rule in Ireland and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people and the maintenance of freedom among its men. We therefore declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, free speech and press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities that contribute to the education of the children of the land; but when we find that upon the fullest measure of religious liberty, we are opposed by the union of church and state.

We reaffirm our opposition, declared in the Republican platform of 1888, to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or other forms of control, arbitrarily, the condition of trade among our citizens. We fully endorse the action already taken upon this subject, and ask for further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in the existing laws.

•
—



We commend the spirit of evidence of reform in the civil service and the wise and consistent enforcement by the Republican party of the laws regulating the same.

The construction of the Nicaragua Canal is of the highest importance to the American people as a measure of national defense and to build up and maintain American Commerce, and it should be controlled by the United States Government.

We favor the admission of the remaining territories at the earliest possible date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the territories and of the United States. All the federal officers appointed for the territories should be selected from bona fide residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

We favor ceasion, subject to the Homestead laws, of the arid public lands to the States and Territories in which they lie, under such Congressional restrictions as to disposition, reclamation and occupancy by settlers, as well as to secure the maximum benefits to the people.

The World's Columbian Exposition is a great national undertaking and Congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation in aid thereof as will insure a discharging of the expense and obligations incident thereto and the attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the nation.

In temperance we sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

Ever mindful of the services and sacrifices of the men who saved the nation, we pledge anew to the veteran soldiers of the Republic a watchful care and recognition of their just claims upon a grateful people.

We commend the able, patriotic and thoroughly American administration of President Harrison. Under it the country has enjoyed remarkable prosperity, and the dignity and honor of the nation at home and abroad have been faithfully maintained, and we offer the record of pledges kept as a guarantee of faithful performance in the future.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM.

ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION AT CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE 22, 1892.

SECTION 1. The representatives of the Democratic party of the United States in National Convention assembled, do re-affirm their allegiance to the principles of the party as formulated by Jefferson and exemplified by the long and illustrious line of his successors in Democratic leadership, from Madison to Cleveland; we believe the public welfare demands that these principles be applied to the conduct of the Federal Government through the ascension to power of the party that advocates them; and we declare that the need of a return to these fundamental principles of a free popular government based on home rule and individual liberty, was never more urgent than now, when the tendency to centralize all power at the Federal Capital has become a menace to the reserved rights of the States that strikes at the very roots of our government under the Constitution as framed by the fathers of the Republic.

SEC. 2. We warn the people of our common country, jealous for the preservation of their free institutions, that the policy of Federal control of elections, to which the Republican party has committed itself, is fraught with the gravest dangers, scarcely less momentous than would result from a revolution, practically establishing monarchy on the ruins of the Republic. It strikes at the North as well as the South, and injures the colored citizens even more than the white; it means a horde of deputy marshals at every polling place, armed with Federal power returning



SEC. 4. Trade interchanges on the basis of reciprocal advantages to the countries participating, is a time-honored doctrine of the Democratic faith, but we denounce the sham reciprocity which juggles with the people's desire for enlarged foreign markets and freer exchanges by pretending to establish closer trade relations for a country whose articles of export are almost exclusively agricultural, while erecting a custom-house barrier of prohibitive tariff taxes against the countries of the world that stand ready to take our entire surplus of products and to exchange therefor commodities which are necessities and comforts of life among our own people.

SEC. 5. We recognize in the trusts and combinations, which are designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint product of capital and labor, a natural consequence of the prohibitive taxes which prevent the free competition which is the life of honest trade, but we believe their worst evils can be abated by law, and we demand the rigid enforcement of laws made to prevent and control them, together with such further legislation in restraint of their abuses as experience may show to be necessary.

SEC. 6. The Republican party, while professing a policy of reserving the public land for small holdings by actual settlers has given away the people's heritage, till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. The last Democratic administration reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly 100,000,000 acres of valuable land, to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens, and we pledge ourselves to continue this policy until every acre of land so unlawfully held, shall be reclaimed and restored to the people.

SEC. 7. We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly make-shift fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters, as well as its authors, anxious for its speedy repeal.

We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguard of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon the policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

SEC. 8. We recommend that the prohibitory 10 per cent. tax on State bank issues be repealed.

SEC. 9. Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the Democratic National Convention of 1876, for the reform of the civil service, and we call forth the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent Republican convention, by delegations composed largely of his appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free, popular institutions, and a startling illustration of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which Federal office holders usurp control of party conventions in the States, and we



SEC. 17. Popular education being the only safe basis of popular suffrage, we recommend to the several States most liberal appropriation for the public schools. Free common schools are the nursery of good government, and they have always received the fostering care of the Democratic party, which favors every means of increasing intelligence. Freedom of education being an essential of civil and religious liberty as well as a necessity for the development of intelligence, must not be interfered with under any pretext whatever. We are opposed to State interference with parental rights and rights of conscience in the education of children as an infringement of the fundamental Democratic doctrine that the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of others, insures the highest type of American citizenship and the best government.

SEC. 18. We approve the action of the present House of Representatives in passing bills for the admission into the Union as States of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories having necessary population and resources to admit them to Statehood, and while they remain Territories we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory together with the District of Columbia and Alaska, should be bona fide residents of the Territory or District in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule and the control of their own affairs by the people of the vicinage.

SEC. 19. We favor Legislation by Congress and State Legislatures to protect the lives and limbs of railway employes and those of other hazardous transportation companies, and denounce the inactivity of the Republican party and particularly the Republican senate, for causing the defeat of measures beneficial and protective to this class of wage-workers.

SEC. 20. We are in favor of enactment by the States of laws for abolishing the notorious sweating system, for abolishing contract convict labor and for prohibiting the employment in factories, of children under 15 years of age.

SEC. 21. We are opposed to all sumptuary laws as an interference with the individual rights of the citizens.

SEC. 22. Upon this statement of principles and policies the Democratic party asks the intelligent judgment of the American people. It asks a change of administration and a change of party in order that there may be a change of system and a change of methods, thus assuring the maintenance unimpaired of institutions under which the Republic has grown great and powerful.

PROHIBITION PARTY PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT CINCINNATI, JUNE 21, 1892.

The Prohibition party in National Convention assembled acknowledge Almighty God as the source of all true government and His law as the standard to which business enactments must conform to secure the blessings of peace and prosperity, and presents the following declaration of principles:

The liquor traffic is a foe to civilization, the arch enemy of popular government and a public nuisance. It is the citadel of the forces that corrupt politics, promote poverty and crime, degrade the nation's home life, thwart the will of the people, and deliver our country into the hands of rapacious class interests. All laws that under the guise of regulation, legalize and protect this traffic or make the government share its ill-gotten gains, are vicious in principle and powerless as a remedy. We declare anew for the full suppression of the manufacture, sale, importation, exportation and transportation of alcoholic liquors as a beverage by fed-

no individual or corporation should be allowed to pass through its issue. It should be made a legal tender for all debts, public and private. Its volume should be determined by sum per capita, and made to conform to the population.

Tariff should be levied only as a defense against imports, which levy tariff upon or bar our products from foreign revenue being incidental. The residue of means necessary for the administration of the government should be raised not on what the people possess but on what they consume.

Railroads, telegraphs and other corporations should be owned by the government in the interest of the people, and should be allowed no more than necessary to give fair interest on money actually invested.

Foreign immigration has become a burden on industry by factors in depressing wages, and is causing discontent. Immigration laws should be revised and strictly enforced. Evidence for naturalization should be extended, and no alien should be allowed to vote until one year after he becomes a citizen.

Non-resident aliens should not be allowed to own land in this country, and we favor the limitation of individual and corporate ownership of land. All unearned grants of land to railroads and other corporations should be reclaimed.

Years of inaction and treachery on the part of the Democratic parties have resulted in the present reign of lawlessness. We demand that every citizen be protected in the right of free speech and of constitutional tribunals.

All men should be protected by law in their right of free speech.

Arbitration is the wisest and most economical method of settling national differences.

Speculations in margins, the cornering of grain, stock, and the formation of pools, trusts and combinations for the purpose of advancing prices should be suppressed.

We pledge that the Prohibition party if elected to power will grant just pensions to disabled veterans of the Union and to their widows and orphans.

We stand unequivocally for the American people.

politics is a confession of their own moral degeneracy. The declaration of an eminent authority that municipal misrule is "the one conspicuous failure of American politics," follows as a natural consequence of such degeneracy, and is true alike of cities under Republican and Democratic control. Each accuses the other of extravagance in Congressional appropriations and both are alike guilty. Each protests when out of power against infractions of the civil service laws, and each when in power violates those laws in letter and in spirit. Each professes fealty to the interests of the toiling masses, but both covertly truckle to the money power in the administration of public affairs. Even the tariff issue as represented in the Democratic Mills bill and the Republican McKinley bill is no longer treated by them as an issue between great and divergent principles of government, but as a mere catering to different sectional and class interests. The attempt in many to wrest the Australian ballot system from its true purpose and to so deform it as to render it extremely difficult for new parties to exercise the rights of suffrage is an outrage upon popular government. The competition of both of these parties for the vote of the slums and their assiduous courting of the liquor power, and subserviency to the money power, has resulted in placing those powers in the position of practical arbiters of the destinies of the nation. We renew our protest against these perilous tendencies and invite all citizens to join us in the upbuilding of a party that has shown in five national campaigns that it prefers temporary defeat to an abandonment of the claims of justice, sobriety, personal rights and the protection of American homes.

Recognizing and declaring that prohibition of the liquor traffic has become the dominant issue in National politics, we invite to full party fellowship, all those, who, on this one dominant issue are with us agreed, in the full belief that this party can and will remove sectional differences promote national unity and insure the best welfare of our entire land.

CONCLUSIONS.

Although in 1890 General Weaver, at the head of the Greenback Labor Party, received 307,740 votes, we remember that the Republican and Democratic press had but the most meager account of the Convention, and but few comments on the movement of the Party. At the present time, nearly every paper in the land, regardless of their political aspect, has devoted sufficient space to give an exhaustive account of the Convention and sketches of the candidates. Is this not in itself, a significant fact? It is not amiss, in order that we may see wherein errors have been made, and consider what might have been better, for us to review any important event. The Convention at Omaha was marvelous in its harmony, wanting in individual guile and political subterfuge. The wire-puller and trickster were not to be seen.

The majority of the meetings and caucuses were open and above board. When the Convention adjourned with its grand results, there were but few wounds, and little, if any heart burnings.

Never in the history of our country has there been a similar Convention; not even at the Prohibition Convention did such complete harmony prevail. The superb platform is pointed, clear and easily comprehended, and with James B. Weaver and James G. Field at the head of the ticket, there is surely something besides a disastrous defeat in store for The People's Party.

California.....
 Colorado.....
 Connecticut.....
 Delaware.....
 Florida.....
 Georgia.....
 Idaho.....
 Illinois.....
 Indiana.....
 Iowa.....
 Kansas.....
 Kentucky.....
 Louisiana.....
 Maine.....
 Maryland.....
 Massachusetts.....
 Michigan.....
 Minnesota.....
 Mississippi.....
 Missouri.....
 Montana.....
 Nebraska.....
 Nevada.....
 New Hampshire.....
 New Jersey.....
 New York.....
 North Carolina.....
 North Dakota.....
 Ohio.....
 Oregon.....
 Pennsylvania.....
 Rhode Island.....
 South Carolina.....
 South Dakota.....
 Tennessee.....
 Texas.....
 Vermont.....
 Virginia.....
 Washington.....

CHAPTER X.

THE OTHER PLATFORMS.

Republican Platform Adopted at Minneapolis, June 10, 1892—Democratic Platform Adopted at Chicago, June 22, 1892—Prohibition Platform Adopted at Cincinnati, June 21, 1892.

REPUBLICAN PARTY PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., JUNE 10, 1892.

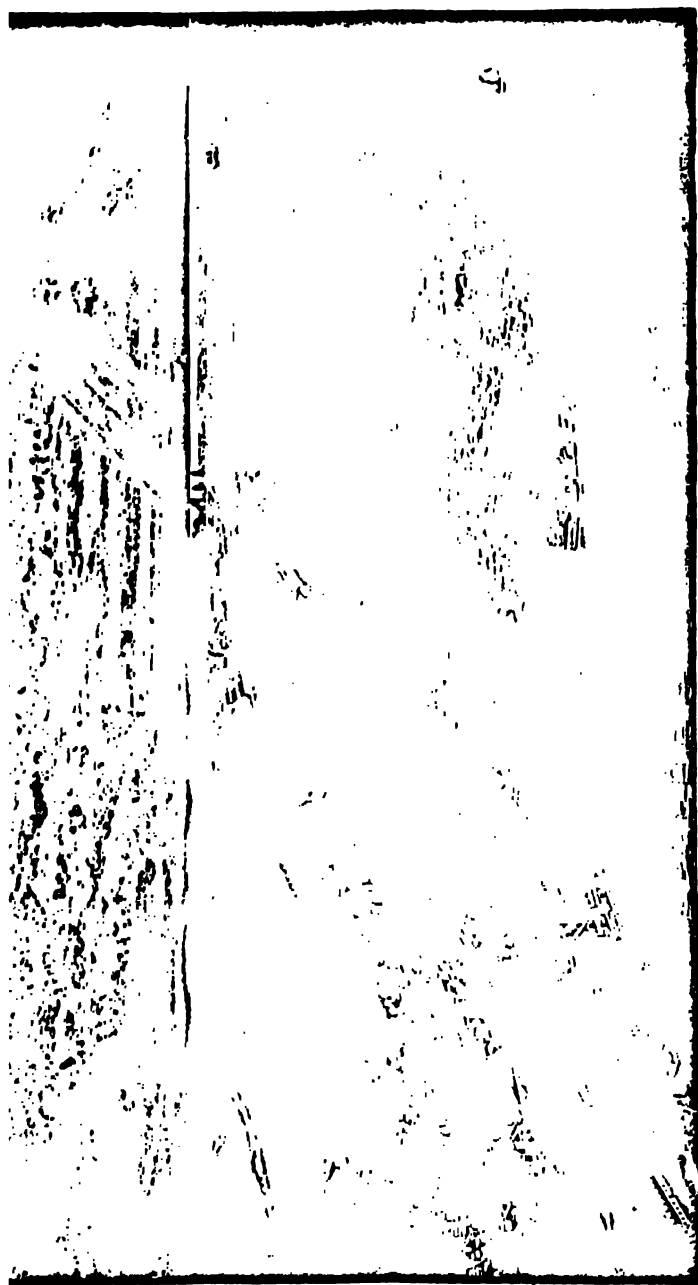
The representatives of the Republicans of the United States assembled in general Convention on the shores of the Mississippi River the ever-lasting bond of an indestructible Republic whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the Republican party, congratulate their country-men on the majestic march of the nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1888, vindicated by victory at the polls, and prosperity in our fields, workshops and mines, and make the following declaration of principles:

We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican congress. We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home. We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the tariff act of 1890. We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our tariff laws, as is manifested by their attacks upon wool, lead and lead ores, the chief products of a number of States, and we ask the people for their judgement thereon. We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity, under which our export trade has vastly increased and new and enlarged markets have been opened to the products of our farms and workshops. We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by a Republican administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power



yours Truly



COMMERCE ON THE GREAT LAKES.

threatened—The nature of man—The development
 rewards of research—Dangers ahead—The state
 dies proposed—Our special advantages—Such ad
 passing away—The inevitable end—The present
 from preceding problems—Inequality in advance
 Degradation of poverty—Hopelessness of labor—
 cultural labor—hope for the future.



NO century of history
 made more rapid prog
 the one just closing. I
 the world is now thrown
 merce; the productions
 try readily find their way into of
 the system of exchange, which h
 derfully improved and simplified. It i
 place remark that steam has annihilat
 new world itself being now but a few
 from the old. Progress in this direction
 ues. The interior of Asia is being surv
 merical purposes while the jungles of A



WHITELAW REID.

religion, and is especially portentous with
for our existing social institutions.

all know, in one direction at least the political
rapidly overcasting. Our whole industrial sys-
threatened, and there is a decided tendency to
line the theory of government, of private prop-
pecially of property in land, and the distribu-
wealth created from year to year. Such a
affairs certainly exists, and the danger ahead
civilization is that if this investigation is not
ken in an earnest, candid manner, and the
falsity of the new views that are finding ex-
here and there be established, the impulsive

Civilization has resulted from attempts made to satisfy his wants, which happily increase quite as fast as the means of satisfying them are found. This is one great dividing line between man and other animals. The horse to-day has the same wants as the first horse that grazed on the primitive meadows of the prehistoric world. The case is vastly different with man. Conscious of his superiority, he has risen in the scale in proportion as he has triumphed over natural difficulties and advanced in the domain of science. Progress in all these directions is but slow. The first steps are but few and feeble, with many a halt. In general his first advance was with animals. The herdsman precedes the farmer. Man clothes himself with the skins of various animals, later weaving their fleeces into garments. He uses them for food, and compels them to labor for him. But agriculture follows on apace. Nutritive grasses are cultivated which, under his fostering care, change their habits of growth, and develop into the various cereals upon which the civilized world so largely depends.

Man never lived isolated and alone. Primitive man united in groups, from which slowly formed gentes, phratries and tribes. This advance corresponded to advance in other directions, and thus organized society arose. Tribes united in a confederacy; the confederacy in turn gave way to the modern state. Apart from greater security of life, most important consequences follow from the mere union of man with

in society. Mind acts on mind; one spurs on another. He yearns to know the very secrets of life, not only from the mere love of knowing, but turns knowledge so obtained to advantage in a practical way—makes it also minister to his needs. Thus arts and sciences arose. Such knowledge was at first mere childish, even foolish, explanations of the simple, every-day occurrence that man was observing happening around him; but observation is added to observation, fact wedded to fact, and so in time speculative theories grew into our modern ones.

The rewards of such researches are many. What part of life is it that has not been enriched by scientific research? So true is this that new inventions have served as dividing lines between various

no doubt as to further progress. We are in danger of forgetting that the way has been long and dreary ; that all progress has been the result of labor, and that what is true of the individual is true of mankind generally—life is a warfare, a struggle, that we rise only by meeting with and overcoming opposition. If, then, as we have stated, there are dangers ahead of our present civilization, we must not suppose that they will settle themselves. They must be confronted, the remedies considered ; necessary innovations must be made.

The mere fact that there are dangers ahead is by no means alarming. The individual who has every want satisfied will probably not amount to much. The same is true of a nation or of society. When once it reaches a state where no change is desired or looked for, then it becomes stagnant. Changelessness is an attribute of death, not of life. The dangers bravely met, the necessary changes, if such there seem to be, once made, civilization will enter on a higher stage. Each stage of culture brings with it dangers peculiar to itself, even as it has its own wants and means of satisfying them. When ancient Greece changed from tribal society to political society, she found herself confronted with evils before unknown. Some centuries ago the principal nations of Europe, abandoning the feudal system of society, passed through the intermediate stage of gild system and entered on the stage of industrial development, which it still pursues.

be called, for lack of a better name, the
c system, and has been distinguished in the
er competition. As might have been fore-
g with whatever of excellence there is in
m, it is accompanied by great evils. These
e rather increased as time has passed, and
many who think a change must come soon.
principal nations of the earth, in America as
urope, there is a widespread feeling of discon-
badly speaking, the discontent is mostly con-
what are known as the laboring classes, as
to professional men and moneyed classes
This statement is of course broad and
It is extremely difficult, in many cases, to

All such influences as these have an effect far beyond what we at first allow them. Of late years we have learned that the state is an organism. As such it can no more be in a healthy condition when there is such a state of affairs between its class divisions, than an individual can be said to be healthy, when his digestive system is out of order. The whole body in the one case, no less than the whole state in the other, is speedily involved. To carry out the comparison we might refer to the fact, that without well defined reason we have regularly recurrent seasons of "hard times." The whole body politic is thrown into alternate fever and chill. Without a knowledge of the whole situation, we are apt to apply merely local remedies. In our own country we see various bodies of laborers organizing to protect themselves from the tyranny of capital without any special regard paid to the state as a whole, or any organized effort to remove the cause of the trouble itself.

However, at the present day, other ideas are rapidly coming to the front. We now see vast combinations of laborers and wage workers taking place, who propose to do something more than merely combine for protection. Whether right or wrong, they are under the firm impression that many of the evils under which they labor can be removed by legislation. In our own country, political power is undoubtedly in their hands. They are American patriots and intelligent citizens, who feel they have wrongs to be righted.

all will be well." It never seems to occur to England, the home of free trade, is also the place where the laboring classes generally groan under difficulties.

"Increase the tariff, build up our home and protect our industries," is the remedy by the protectionists. But not to mention our country, there is Germany, enjoying all the advantages of a high protective tariff, and there the dealers in labor have been very aggressive, caused as they are by the intolerable burdens under which they labor. "The remedy is very simple," explain still another party. "It is quite evident that we are all suffering from a lack of money, therefore, set the government printing press at work and print a billion dollars." Unfortunately the government cannot buy houses, ships, corn and clothing which this money is supposed to buy, they are not rendered more

government can do nothing in the matter of finances. Money, in our present industrial system, fills in commerce an office quite similar to the blood in our bodies. On its circulation in proper quantity and quality depends the health of trade, no less than the health of the body depends on the proper circulation and general health of the blood.

Let us dismiss the proposed remedies, for the time being, and take up the question at the beginning. Let us listen to the complaints made, learn the symptoms of the case, so to speak. Then take an historical view of the case, that is to say, inquire into our patient's (society) past life. Whether he has had any trouble of this kind before, what was done in those cases, etc. Then we might hold a council, that is, examine the views of scholars and thinkers, who have expressed themselves. If we find them agreeing as to the remedy demanded, it is a strong probability that they are right and it would be prudent to follow their council. If, however, they are very far from agreement among themselves, then there is nothing for it but to come to our own conclusions.

Before proceeding further, we ought to speak of the especial advantages enjoyed in our own country. We are as yet a young nation; our population has by no means reached the limit which we can support; land is still cheap; and as a consequence wages are comparatively much higher than in Europe. Our system of public education enables the children of even very poor

leading men have arisen from the ranks of the people. As a result we instinctively feel that an individual is to blame, if he cannot procure the necessary every-day comforts of life. All this and more can be said in favor of our own country.

It is, however, well known that this state of affairs is passing away. Population is increasing, we are now a nation of near 100 million inhabitants. The public land is exhausted. In fact, the United States has reached a turning point in its history. The course of future events (i. e., under the present system) must be an ever nearing approach to the state of affairs existing in Europe. It is not to be thought that our form of government, our free institutions will make the result different in our case. Our population, which in all human probability will march steadily forward, must inevitably intensify the competition more and more intense. Be not de-

course. But far reaching modifications may be introduced into the present system of industry, by means of which these evils may be avoided, and in this direction is to be found hopes for the future.

What now is the inevitable end to which our present system is tending? It is the old, old story, "him that hath, to him shall be given," but "him that hath not from him shall be taken away even that he hath." Society is being transformed into two great divisions. The moneyed class and the moneyless class. Progress is accompanied by poverty. For one magnate, riding by in his private car, a hundred tramps are plodding along the highway, utterly discouraged, brutalized by hunger and want, they are ready to commit any crime. For one great dinner given by a successful manufacturer, tables in midwinter banked with choice flowers, costly wines, imported fruits, rare viands from distant countries, thousands of weary laborers plod homeward in the sleet, other thousands of innocent children, hungry and shivering, are crying for food. For one elegant mansion, whose rooms contain all that luxury can ask, all that wealth can buy; innumerable tenement compartments, are the homes of discouraged fathers, weary mothers, children at present prattling innocents, but who in a few years will become a part of the great army of workers, though some of them, a sadly large part of them, will go to swell the ranks of the criminal and vicious classes.

It is not enough to say that in all times we have

does not prevent us from trying to ward on
But on the other hand, one who thus trifling
of this whole subject understands neither p
nor the present trend of events. In the
poverty such as we know it now, is a cor
recent thing. The division into rich and p
in antiquity was something quite different f
divisions of to-day. The poor man then r
been the slave or the serf of another. An
have had many disagreeable duties to perf
he was in no great danger of suffering. I
case his master had to provide for him, in
case, he had a claim on the land of his n
could thus support himself.

Neither does such an individual unde
present trend of the problem. It is not s
we have poverty in the world, it is not th
the present distinction between rich and p
• is that this division is steadily growing

will from this time on, as we have already pointed out, steadily approach such a state of affairs. It is all very well to point out how the great advance in the arts of living have redounded to the benefit of the poor as well as the rich. It is quite true that the poor man now is in possession of many comforts that the rich could not have procured with all his money, a century or so ago.

The trouble is not that the laboring classes are not advancing at all, but that the other classes are advancing so much faster, and thus the gulf is steadily widening. In the meanwhile what are the luxuries of one age become the necessities of another. Because people once lived without chimneys in their houses, it is no sign of extravagance if they persist in having them now. Mankind once got along by utilizing sheltered nooks and caves for a place of habitation, but the hundreds of thousands of homeless men, women and children to be found in all countries, who have literally no shelter that they can call their own, and put up with worse make-shifts than primitive man did, do not find their lot any easier to bear by being informed how many comforts can now be furnished at a trifling cost which wealth itself could not procure at times past.

Now every one who cares to investigate the subject knows that there is an appalling amount of abject misery in what Gen. Booth calls the submerged classes. He estimates that about one-tenth of the population of England is in that deplorable state. They are completely sunk in the slough of despondency. They are

many of these are

have only themselves to blame for their condition. They have given away their health, they have wasted their opportunities, they have heeded friendly warning and thus brought about their wreck. But their sufferings are not to their account. But other thousands, laboring men, women and children, are leading their lives through no fault of theirs.

There is another picture which is indeed not painted in as dark colors as the first, but on an extremely sad background for the future of civilization. It is the increasing hopelessness of labor. Now labor in itself is a curse. It is not that men and women have to work hard for a living that is the curse, but that labor becomes more and more, as the whole of life, instead of being a means to an end. What Ricardo calls the law of diminishing returns, and which Lassalle calls the law of the iron, must continue to be operative u

precious thing on earth, becomes one dreary round of hopeless work, and, strive as the laborer may, he can only hope to make his living. If wages rise much above that point, laborers from other sources flock in to enjoy the advantages of the good pay. This brings competition. The necessities of some compel them to work for less than others, and wages speedily fall to the level of other branches. Now, when you add to this fact the uncertainty of work, and of life itself, it becomes a serious question whether life from the laborer's standpoint is worth the living. He may have a family dependent on him. He loves his children quite as well as his rich employer loves his. He is perfectly willing to work long hours for them, even though he knows his utmost endeavors can only keep them in the barest comforts. But there is constantly before him a nameless dread. Some new labor-saving invention may render his services superfluous, and he finds himself discharged. This may be brought about in many other ways. What a pitiful prospect ahead of him! Yet how often is this the experience of all workmen. He may lose his life by disease or accident, and then, Heaven help those who have been dependent on him.

Now, every one knows that this is an exceedingly moderate statement of the case. It may very well be that wages in this country have, as a whole, been above mere living wages, and yet they have not, as a rule, been above the American standard of comfort.



...from laborer lives. But now (result to continue? We have already of laborers from other parts of the nations of laborers will come in the future population is bound to increase. escape from the conclusion that wages will fall to a lower level as time passes on. While, the dread uncertainty always hanging over the laborer must become more intense as that passes it becomes harder and harder to get once thrown out of employment to get back into position. Surely this is a sufficiently serious situation. It means that millions in one of the civilized countries of the world, in spite of the wonderful advances in science and art, are condemned all to a life of unceasing anxiety and

So far we have spoken of the suffering of the laborers. As we have already stated, if one class in society reacts on that way, the whole body politic can not be healthy unless the other classes are healthy. Responding to

tainly very hard from one year's end to the other. Yet is it not true that the rewards of his labor tend to a balance just about the point where they yield him a mere living? If he is not in debt for his farm, he may by hard work and thrifty management live comfortably, and even lay by a store for old age or the proverbial rainy day. But if in debt, as so many are, and taking the country at large their number seems to be increasing, it is all but impossible to clear off the mortgage.

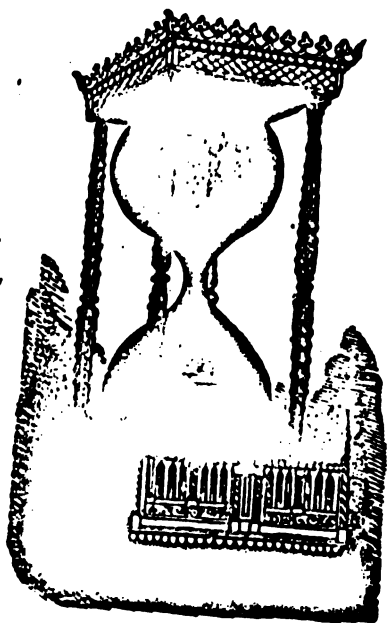
Strive as he will, the value of the produce he has to sell, as in the case of all commodities, approaches nearer and nearer the cost of production—that is to say, to the labor exerted, for labor is at least the principal element in the cost, and this labor is of the same value, or brings the same price as labor generally, and that is, as we have stated, just what will yield a living; he has nothing left over to reduce his debt. In case he owns his farm, he has simply saved the interest on the value of his farm; that is all. Making allowance for exceptional circumstances, such as a failure of crops in one locality and an abundant harvest in another, there seems to be no escape from these conclusions. Where is the error in the reasoning? The market price of all freely produced commodities, in the long run, depends on the cost of production. Labor is the principal element in the cost of production. And the cost of labor itself is simply a living.

owned his land was in quite a different condition heavily in debt. If he has a farm valued at a thousand dollars, he has then that much cash. A laborer who has command of that amount is very differently situated indeed from one who has nothing. Land in the Eastern and Middle States of late years declined in value, because by means of transportation it has been brought into connection with other land in the West. These values will in time adjust themselves, and land values all over a whole, steadily rise. In time the holders of land will cease to be farmers and become landlords. Their farm be of any great size. Such landlords are at once out of our calculation. We are concerned with farmers who work their own land for a living, and tenant farmers.

It seems to us quite evident that the trouble of our agricultural interest is similar to that of the laborer in general. We must some way or other

resources of science at our command, if with the wonderful improvements in labor-saving inventions, if with the rapid introduction of that new agent, electricity, which promises to effect a more wonderful revolution than did the introduction of steam, we can not contrive some plan by which the appalling mass of abject misery in our large cities among the poorest classes can not be alleviated. Something is wrong, we repeat, in our civilization, if life to the majority of our fellow-men is to be simply one weary round of labor, unlighted by hope, overhung by the darkness of a nameless fear that something may happen to deprive them of their present pittance.

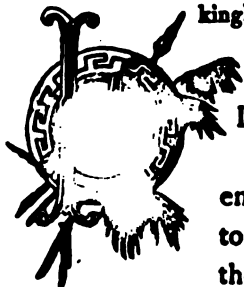
We believe that something can be done. The difficulties are indeed many. But this is not the first time that civilization has had to rouse itself and introduce far-reaching changes. This will be brought out more clearly in a brief historical sketch which we will give in the following chapters. We do not suppose there is a royal road to happiness any more than there is to learning. There will never be an era when it will not be necessary for men to strive to enter in at the narrow gate. Labor will always be the price of success. Still much more can undoubtedly be done by society at large to help its members than has been done for the last few centuries. Political economy has been made a fetish, and now it is necessary for us to break away from some of its notions. Let us get firmly in our mind this fact: that society is a



CHAPTER II.

PRIMITIVE LIFE.

Tendency of thought—Social institutions a growth—Probable order of development—Means of obtaining information as to past times—Late conclusions as to primitive times—How to proceed—The communal band—Primitive rights—Illustrations from Australia—Tribal society—Outlines of a tribe—Tribe ruled by custom—Internal government of a tribe—Ideas of property—Development of tribal society—The Aryans—The Teutonic Aryans—The primitive Germans—Rise of agriculture—Territorial divisions of the German tribes—The common ownership of land—Development in England—Roman period—The Saxon conquest—How the Saxons settled in England—The English village described—How the common land was divided—How cultivated—Each village an insulated one—Slow changes in the village community—Growth of the kingly power—General conclusions.



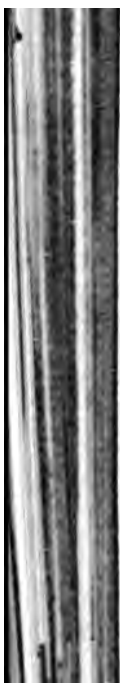
IS natural for us to transfer to other people and other times our present knowledge. Without stopping to reason about it, we conclude that the present social customs must always have existed, or if at any time the ordinary usages were different, we assume that such usages must have been, in some way, unnatural. This tendency is but one side of that self-conceit so natural to man. Each people think that their country, their customs, their manners are superior to those of any





A. Lincoln

LIBERATOR OF THE OPPRESSED.



sections. More extended study and c
us the folly of such opinions. In n
inclination more marked than in the
of assuming that our present socia
necessarily better than any that have
or are more in accordance with natur
we have finally reached the end of
particular field.

The fact is that every one of our
our form of government, the family,
private property, is a result. They
forms, assumed after passing throug
developments. Our modern family
finest flower of civilization. It is tr
the poetic and beautiful sentiments sh
a great mistake is made when we s
ticular form was the primitive one. I
fairest flowers of civilization, it is also

While this fact is known at least

by that statement. And we still notice such people when describing the growth of government talking about the family developing into the clan, the clan into the tribe. Now the reverse of that order of development, if not strictly true, is much more correct. When we talk about the evolution of government, we are on grounds more or less familiar to all. We all know that everywhere underlying our present form of territorial government, is ancient tribal society. When this country was discovered its only form of government was tribal. Ancient history tells us about the tribes of the various branches of Aryan people and other people of antiquity. Manifestly our territorial government grew out of tribal society, just as tribal society in turn, must have grown out of something else. It seems to us that it will be of great help to get this fact firmly in mind, and so we propose to devote this chapter to an outline history of the growth of government.

In explaining to us the theories of astronomy, the scholars call our attention to various heavenly bodies, illustrating different stages of growth. There are Nebulae, showing different degrees of condensation. In our system there is Saturn with his rings, which probably illustrates an extremely interesting stage of planetary development. Jupiter, still faintly glowing with internal fires, is a picture of an early geological age of the earth. Our moon, which resembles nothing so much as a huge cinder, faithfully portrays the future

various stages of growth. If we learn about
can form quite correct ideas of past progress
must admit that even the lowest of existing
are considerably removed from primitive
consequently, unless we fall back on theory,
seem to be hopeless to reconstruct the outli
vanished past.

But man is not used to acknowledge de
he cannot achieve his ends one way, he tries
We can illustrate by referring to other bran
instance to geology. With what patience
many difficulties in the pursuit of this scier
confronted? Most distant discoveries hav
joined until we are enabled to read the stor
past as from the pages of an open book. In
what similar way we have gone at the proble
past of man's life on the globe. Volumes ha
written on the interesting results that ha

with the subject in hand. When it was believed that man had lived on the earth but a few thousand years, it was quite natural to assume that he had passed rapidly through the various stages of civilization ; and, in fact, it was held that man was civilized to start with. It was of course admitted that he did not have daily papers, electric motors or telephones, or the thousand and one conveniences of modern life, but for all that he was supposed to be a most noble barbarian ; keeping flocks and herds, building cities, working various metals, and possessing an especially good knowledge of the requirements of religion.

This pleasing picture of primitive culture was in a sense a necessary picture to form the only one, in fact, in keeping with the surroundings, as long as the recent origin of man was supposed to be the true theory. But of late years we have better means of information on this important subject. From innumerable sources evidence accumulates that man's life on the earth extends over a vastly prolonged period of time. We can not give definite figures ; all we can say is that a shadowy, unknown period of years confronts us, one extending far into the past, lost in the very night of time ; the six thousand years formerly allowed, in all probability being but an insignificant fraction of the whole. Keeping pace with this changed idea of the antiquity of man has been formed a much more correct idea of his primitive state. We now know that he started emphatically at the begin-



situations were invented and slowly knowledge increased. By social improvement amongst other things, all forms of man in family life, for governments as all ideas of property.

We will add to these statements really scarcely necessary to do so that they are no longer theory. They are as much a part of established general statements of geology or as educated persons now question them to a kind of mental inertia, many presumably honest men, still write had heard nothing about them. The theory that the but half-educated hearers or readers would be utterly should speak out freely, while, or those fully informed will understand are not to be taken in their general

culture. We must study the language, note the meaning of words, examine their customs, and see if we can not detect here and there survivals, extending over a wide range of territory, meaningless or absurd in themselves, yet referring us to a time when a state of society did exist in which these strange customs formed a useful and appropriate part. Primitive man, like his descendants to-day, did not adopt customs without having what he thought was some good reason. It may very well be that the reason was childish, even foolish, judging from our present enlightenment; but it was neither one nor the other to primitive man.

To illustrate our meaning in this last statement, we will refer to an extremely widespread custom among but partially civilized people, namely, the avoidance of all social intercourse between relatives by marriage. Among our Indian tribes generally, it was considered extremely improper for a woman to speak to her son-in-law, or even to look at him. Among the rude tribes in Asia, we find substantially the same rule; a married woman must never speak to her father-in-law. Among the Chinese, the father-in-law never sees his son's wife, if he can avoid it, after the wedding day. The aborigines of Australia have the same idea. It is a social calamity for a man to come in contact with his wife's mother. If absolutely necessary to hold some sort of communication, they turn their backs to each other and shout out the words at the top of their voice, the fiction being that they



is to explain the origin of this and for this is only one illustration of the way in which the facts may be taken by scientific men to form a primitive society. They study these and they analyze language, and thus, being enabled to form a picture of primitive

Briefly, then, as the result of a long and of painstaking observation, we can say that primitive society began by the formation of bands, which were simply intermarriage, or say organized society, for what language they have no means of knowing. This primitive cluster, or group, had rights and duties, and even individual marriage was unknown. Marriage was the custom. We will make an assumption, however, to assume that this was a lawless society. Custom was just as binding as laws, and violations of it were punished quite as severely as in more advanced forms of society.

dividual could not become rich, another poor. All stood on the same level. Even game killed by a fortunate hunter was not his exclusive property; custom compelled him to divide with the other members of his band."

No communal bands have ever been discovered, yet we feel reasonably sure that we are not far out of the way in sketching their organization and delineating a few of their customs. We are enabled to do this with some confidence, because so many lines of evidence seem to converge in that direction. Their previous existence is vouched for by circumstantial evidence, which is often the strongest kind of evidence. To illustrate from natural science, physicists and chemists theorize about atoms. No one ever saw an atom, and yet they reason about them, formulate laws in reference to them, and are not afraid to found their science on their existence. This is not the place to go into any extended observation to show that the communal band was the primitive form, the cell, of social organization.

We must content ourselves with boldly stating the fact. It is necessary, however, to note well a few points. In these bands there were not only no such thing as personal rights, or personal property, beyond at least the few trifles we have indicated; but we think, on a more careful examination, we will miss a vast number of "natural rights" we hear so much about. The individual does not even have the natural

PRIMITIVE LIFE.

to his own labor. The fact is, personal property or rights were only won for the individual when civilization had made great advance; they constitute a possession which a higher civilization still, or more advanced social wants may modify, or even recall.

These bands could have included but comparatively few individuals. Advance consisted in the union of two or more bands in a tribe. The changed importance to marriage would remain as evidence of the union. When we reach this stage of development we are on the solid ground of observation. We may find primitive Australian tribes, or rather those to be found a few years ago, that consisted

which division a native belonged; he or she was born into one or the other class, and there he remained. As stated, marriage was in the group. The group Kroki was husband of the group Kumitegor, and the other two groups were also intermarrying groups. Individuals of the two groups, even if perfect strangers to each other, were none the less theoretically husband and wife to each other. The children belonged to the same class as their mother. If she was a Kumitegor, the children were, if males, Kumite; if females, Kumitegor. Changing names, the same result would work out for the other two groups.

With a few modifying statements, this is probably a fair outline of primitive society generally. At any rate, it is in accordance with our present information. It is no hypothetical case, but an actual outline of tribal life in Australia. Traces of such a state of society have been found all over Polynesia, in India and in Africa. We do not say that this was the primitive form of society among the White, or even the Yellow races. But it seems to have been widely extended among the Black races, and perhaps was already passing away when the Yellow races appeared on the scene.

Observe that nothing like the modern family was in existence, though exceptional cases might have occurred. There could have been no ideas of property, though the tribe considered a certain ill-defined section of country as their home, and were ready to

such. The chief or king was simply a superior or hunter, with no definite authority. He had his customs, which must be obeyed. No man presume to marry a woman of his tribe without his consent, and death was the penalty. We have no means of knowing how long this was the prevailing form of society. In all probability it extended over a very long period. But the time finally came when a change was to be made, and this introduces us to the next stage.

Primitive society is a very important stage of social evolution. It still exists over a large portion of the globe, though perhaps not in its normal form. Broadly speaking, it seems to have been introduced by the

thoroughly elucidate this matter. We shall not attempt it here, but content ourselves with the simple remark that these results are not "guess work" nor theory, but are sober conclusions, which seem to be indicated by our present investigation, admitting that further research may overthrow them altogether. We must bear in mind that the prehistoric period of man's life on the earth, which vastly exceeds the historic period, has only recently become a field of research.

But be the facts as they may, we know that tribal society everywhere underlies modern political society. In ancient history we read about the tribes of the Greeks, the Romans, the Germans, the Persians, Medes and Hindoos. We now know that the nomes of ancient Egypt meant simply the tribes of that country. The Bible acquaints us fully with the tribes of the Israelites. Tribal society is, however, quite a complicated affair. It is by no means every wandering body of people that constitutes a tribe. It is very important for us to try and understand the outline of tribal organization, keeping the form from which it probably sprung firmly in mind. We can only understand the developments of social institutions by acquainting ourselves with these primitive forms.

It is extremely hard to give in a limited space with any clearness, a description of tribal organization. Then a further difficulty is that we are compelled to use words and phrases not in general use and consequently more or less unfamiliar to the general reader,

, however, make the attempt. We have seen union of two or more communal bands gave Australian tribe consisting of two great class, four intermarrying groups. As might be expected, when tribal society became fully organized, it showed the model from which it sprang. As everywhere found the world over, the old class, in a somewhat altered form, still existed. It formed the first division of the tribe. Different terms were used by different people to designate these divisions. The Greeks called them *phratries*, the Romans called them *curies*, the Teutons called them *kin*, the Hebrews called them *bethaboth*, meaning house. Amongst these diversities of names

knowing why, that the hundreds "always had a tendency to decay."

We can all understand how when the customs which originally gave rise to the classes, were gradually abandoned, the class division itself would tend to fall in ruins. The simple fact was that the time had finally come when advancing culture was ready to throw off the class divisions, they had become broken up into separate smaller bodies. No one knows just what influences brought about this result. We can easily conjure up some reasons which may have been sufficient. Suppose a large band of the Australian tribe we have alluded to, composed of Kumite men with a corresponding number of Krokigor women had wandered into a river valley to fish, and finding game very plentiful, the valley if not overflowing with milk and honey, abounding in fat kangaroos, had adopted it as their home. Now the children belong to the Kroki class, but though they are savages they are as self-conceited as humanity in general, and so they distinguish themselves as the Kangaroo-Kroke and Krokigors; on identically the same principle that we take pride in that we are natives of some one section of our beloved country; which to our fond conceit is a little better than any other section. But what had happened to this band, had happened to other bands as well, and so the full Australian tribe appear with each of its classes, divided into three great bands.

Now we can not say that this is how they came

into these three bands, We only know that division had some way or other taken place. We understand further that a native could not migrate from one band to another at his pleasure. He was born into one of these bands and there he staid. It remains to be added that some way, the world over, this subdivision of the phratries had taken place. The names of these divisions of course varied in various parts of the world. The Hebrews called them *families*, the Greeks called them *gentes*, etc. The word *gens* has been adopted by Mr. Morgan as the name of this division.

We are now in condition to understand how a gens was organized. It was a body of people who

were at work to disrupt the gens, and when the White appeared on the scene, they introduced still further elements of change.

We have traced the gradual evolution of government as far as tribal society. It is seen to be something quite different from what we have supposed it to be. We are still far from the appearance of any systematized body of laws, but let us repeat that lawlessness was not the rule. Law is simply a rule of action, and it is the same in quality whether it be written or unwritten. Primitive people are governed by primitive customs, which may seem to us in some cases grotesque. Yet primitive man acted up to the best light he had in all these matters. One observation must here be made as to primitive ideas of rights and wrongs. The "noble savages" that some writers talk about, did not recognize any natural rights of others, unless they were connected with his particular tribe. A state of war was almost the normal state of affairs between tribes. It was considered a meritorious thing to kill members of other tribes, to rob them of their goods, to enslave the helpless women and children. As time passed and tribes became by the growth of population too large to hold together as one tribe, other tribes swarmed off from the parent tribe. Such people recognized the bond uniting them, but still they considered themselves and their kindred tribes as the only people having any rights they were bound to respect. In their eyes all other people were

ns, dogs, or gentiles; to be driven from their
to be plundered of their property, or to be en

We must constantly bear this in mind. Ab-
eas of right, of justice, to which man as man
tled, were ideas of very slow growth.

for internal government, the tribe was a very
tic body. Kings and their divine rights had
appeared. Each band or gens, had as its
tative a chief. He was elected by the mem-
is gens. He looked after their general inter-

he presided at the council, where the affairs
ens were discussed by the entire body of the

At the head of the phratry also was an
chief, whose duties were quite similar, and fi-

place, as witness the fact that among rude tribes the rule was that a man must choose his wife from another phratry. But as the phratries declined in importance, the force of the old rule also declined, and amongst most people the rule simply was that a man must choose his wife from some other gens. Group marriage also disappeared. The pairing family had taken its place. This form of family, which was the exceptional form in the ruder state of society, was now the principal form. But this was not our modern family. These unions were but loosely formed and easily broken, for development had not proceeded far enough to allow the individual family to exist by itself. The gens was simply a congerie of easily formed, as easily dissolving couples. But in this custom we see the entering wedge, which was destined to break up the gens itself.

Agreeable to the old rule of descent the children belonged to the gens of the mother. A chief's son for instance could not succeed him in office, because he was a member of a different gens. With the exceptions of restrictions in marriage rights, the weak form of the pairing family, the gens was quite a good representative of the communal band, the members of a gens regarded each other as brothers and sisters, and indeed such they were. But now notice how the children of these children would become separated. The children of the females would continue in the gens, and would regard each other as brothers and sisters,

would not consider themselves related to the
of the males. To express that in ordinary
suppose a family of four children, two boys
girls. When these children grew up and had
of their own, such children would be in reality
each other. But in the gens, the children
ls would belong to the gens, would regard
r as brothers and sisters, but would not re-
selves as even related to their cousins the
of the boys. Long, long after the reason for
e had disappeared, such ideas of relationship
red to puzzle the investigator, until, as a
deeper research, the reason lies before us
plain. It is seen to be simply a survival of

customs

wealth, has played. Think for a moment of the numberless inventions that have had their origin in the patient investigations of those who were searching for some material good. The most important discoveries were made by men who endured privations, toil and fatigue for the sake of a substantial reward that they saw before them. We do not mean to say that this is the only spring of action, but certainly it is one of the most effective. It has played an important part in past time as well. The course of civilization brings more and more to the front individuals and individual rights. Primitive man knew only of rights and duties of groups. Man's desire of property, the wish to have the sole use and control of what he calls his own, with power of disposing of it as he sees fit, was one of the most active agents in breaking in upon the customs of the gens.

It is certainly clear that as soon as articles of personal property became of value a man would naturally desire that after his death his flocks, his weapons, and in general his property, should go to his son. But to enable him to do this, the old rule of descent had to be broken down. Instead of the children belonging to the gens of the mother, they came to belong to the gens of the father. And thus, long before civilization dawned amongst the majority of advanced tribes, descent had come to be in the male line. But a vast host of customs, or rather relics of customs, survived to show that anciently the rule was different.

bly we have said all that is necessary on
ety: This was surely a most interesting
social development. Now, whatever doubts
be entertained as to what we have said as
in of tribal society itself, there need be no
s to the main fact that this form of govern-
where preceded our present forms of gov-
There need be no question either as to the
accuracy of the general outline of tribal
duties as we have sketched them; for there
rude tribes still in existence where these
still in force, and many quaint customs which
explained on the supposition that they are
ancient customs. Let the reader notice

raelites, the Assyrians, the Phoenicians, etc., and the Aryans or Europeans, though also represented by the Hindoos, the Persians and some other people in Asia. There is probably no doubt that the White race, including these three divisions, was the last to make its appearance on the earth. We must not, however, suppose that there was any clear line of divisions between them and the more advanced representatives of the Yellow people.

As the child grows into manhood, so did the great divisions of the White race make their appearance in history. Neither was there a common homeland of these people, where they dwelt together in peace and harmony. They appeared at different places on the earth, at different periods of time, and came in contact only after many centuries of separate existence. It was the various branches of the White race which carried tribal society to its greatest development, and who abandoned it for political society, and among whom civilization made its first home.

A most interesting vista is here disclosed to view, but we must resolutely pass it by. Egypt, with its ponderous temples, its sphynx-lined avenues, its massive pyramids, which still up-rear their towering forms along the Nile; this land of historical romance, where the glimmering light of seventy centuries past still lingers, must be passed by in silence. The same is true of Ancient Chaldea, the plains of Shinar, the land of religious myth, where exact historical dates go

usands of years before the Hebrews de-
Ur of Chaldea, where even at that far
re are conscious that before us lies a pro-
od of shadowy years—all this must be
We have space only for the Aryans, and
a portion of them will be treated with any

ryans is a name used to denote all the
habitants of Europe, and their descend-
uently the inhabitants of both North and
ica, excepting the Aborigines, and it also
e of the principal people of Asia, as the
rsians and numerous tribes in Afghanis-
hboring sections. Our scholars class the

rious languages have descended, or at least been greatly influenced by contact with the primitive language.

It was formerly quite the custom to speak of Asia as the home-land of the Aryans. As this question is not at all necessary for our present purpose, we shall not dwell on it, further than to remark that the whole tendency of present investigation is to locate that primitive home in Europe rather than Asia. We entertain little doubt that this is the coming theory. In fact; we are to regard the Aryans as originating in Europe, a result brought about by some centuries of intermingling of various people, much as there is being evolved in America to-day an American type of people, a process which may yet require hundreds of years to bring to its full fruition.

It follows that the Aryans must have started with fully developed tribal society. The evidence of language alone is sufficient to show that they never, as Aryans, passed through such a stage of development as is represented by the class divisions of the Australians. We can say more than this. The pairing family of which we have spoken was at the time the Aryans appeared solidified into the Monagamian family, the immediate predecessor of the modern family, though it was in the form known as the joint-family, of which we shall soon speak. We will assume, for the present, that the primitive home of the Aryans was in the neighborhood of the Baltic Sea. At an

early date migrating bands of Aryans sal-
om thence in search of new homes. They
to Italy and Greece, and crossed into Asia
These southern-wandering Aryans speedily
ontact with the older civilization of Western
they rapidly embraced the same. We will
with any degree of minuteness of these peo-
n it is necessary to describe the joint-family.
ave seen that the ancient classes, or phra-
e up into smaller bodies, the gentes. As
g family increased in importance, and espe-
roperty increased, and the old rule of de-
changed, and the children were born into
f the father, instead of the mother, the ten-
for the gens itself to pass away into what

Let us confine our attention solely to the German or Teutonic branch of the Aryans. It was late in time before the light of history fell on these people. Long centuries after Greece and Rome had caught the sun-light from the east, and were luxuriating in philosophy, science and art, the Germanic tribes were slowly advancing through the several stages of barbarism. When the expanding arms of Rome met the advancing hosts of the Germans, the trained and disciplined warriors of the Mistress of the World were appalled at the savage vigor of the barbarians.

Cæsar and Tacitus wrote accounts of the customs of the Germans. However, at the time they wrote their own people had so long left behind them tribal customs that they did not fairly understand or describe the customs they saw. They made somewhat the same mistake that the early explorers in this country did who described the customs of the Indians. However, we have no great trouble in understanding their accounts. That portion of the Teutonic people with whom they came in contact was in a state of migration; the pressure of population was compelling them to seek new homes. It may very well be that the vast body of the people themselves, in the deeper wilds of Germany, far beyond the ken of the Roman historians, were already advanced to the settled agricultural stage of tribal existence.

The rise of agriculture marks a most important step in the development of society. We can see, from

of things, that people would not commence till the ground had been cleared to a considerable advance made in other directions. In most cases they were in possession of flocks and herds before they directed their attention to agriculture. There has been, however, no fixed rule; circumstances have altered cases. In our own country there are animals capable of being domesticated except the Llamas and Alpaccas of Peru. Yet our northern tribes, at least the more advanced tribes, were making progress in the cultivation of Indian corn. Had the Spaniards not arrived on the scene, they would probably have advanced to the stage of civilization, and been the most powerful agents in this direction.

We have called attention to the influence of personal property in hastening on civilization. This had certainly a great influence in breaking down the ancient rule of descent changing from the mother's to the father's gens. This permitted the formation of joint-families, and the consequent dissolving of the gens. But whatever influence in this direction we may ascribe to the institution of personal property, it was but feeble compared to the idea of property in land which originated as soon as agricultural knowledge was fully developed. The very foundation of tribal society was undermined. Let us see how this result came about.

The savage lives by the chase. It requires no long calculation to show that relatively a vast amount of territory is required to keep him supplied with game. In the purely pastoral stage, with flocks and herds, he makes a more abundant living, with greater ease, on a much smaller extent of land. When agriculture is reached, settled habitations are a necessity; further land becomes valuable, for from a limited area abundant supplies can be drawn. Now the territory of a tribe becomes definite. Its ownership is valuable. It is marked off by metes and bounds. No sooner is this done than the land itself becomes the basis of kinship. Government previously rested on personal relations; it now rests on land as a basis. We can illustrate these remarks by reference to the customs of the early Teutonic tribes, as they have been gathered by historians.

territory of the tribe was called variously, but the word *Gau* is perhaps the most common, though the word *Pagus* is also common. Each tribe was independent in its own territory, and in its own affairs. At the head of each tribe was the chief, called generally the *Ealderman*. In times of war, as leader of the forces, he was the *Heretoga*, a later form of which is the familiar *Herzog*. One of the names by which the tribal chief was known was the *Count*, from which our word count has descended. "Each tribe," says Mr. Freeman, "was a distinct community; its union with other tribes was temporary, or at the most federal; each had its own chief, its own *Ealderman* or *Heretoga*, whose rule in

German history either, are survivals. We have set forth what seems to us the reason for such a state of affairs.

Finally we have the gens, under various names, such as the *Mark*, the *Gemeinde*, or the *Commune*. This is the property owning body. The territory which it held was sometimes of great extent. Some of the modern states of Europe have grown out of old marks as Australia, Bavaria, and Brandenburg. The gens chief or *mark-graf* has since became the marquis: We must notice there was not private property in land. The gens owned its territory or mark in common. The boundary of this mark was indicated by stones, stakes or trees, planted with great ceremony. In ancient times the inhabitants of the mark assembled once or twice a year and visited the boundaries, if any had been overthrown they were restored. In latter times this became a religious ceremony. A procession went round the fields, which were blessed by the priest; altars were erected near the boundary stones, and mass was said. To this day, in Bavaria, children are taken to the boundary marks and there given a whipping so as to impress the surroundings on their memory. A survival of this strange custom in England is changed so as to be more acceptable to the juvenile participants. Instead of being flogged themselves, they take switches and belabor the boundary marks.

Every family in the ancient gens was entitled to its proportionate share in the land. According to an

man ideas, and in fact according to the ideas of primitive people, the right to occupy a portion of public land was an essential part of his liberty. The argument has a familiar sound to those who are familiar with the writings of recent economists. A division of the territory of the mark was not destitute of tillage. It was the common land, the *ager* of Rome, the *foc-land* of England. This was used partly to pasturage for the flocks. At first only a portion was tilled each year, and then a series of years lay fallow before it was again tilled. But circumstances certainly varied, the territory of some gens contained only a small portion of arable land, and this of necessity must have been given at

known as the *Flurzwang*, or compulsory rotation. The land was divided into three portions, and each household had its respective strips in each portion. One portion each year lay fallow; one was sown with rye, and one with oats. When the crops were taken off of one portion, it was thrown into the common pasture field. One can see that the strips in each field had to be tilled at the same time, devoted to the same crops, and abandoned to pasturage at the same time, hence the name *flurzwang*. To this day this custom is in use in Russia, and was, until recently, the rule in certain portions of Germany.

Now a word as to the wide extension of these customs in regard to land. No people develop in quite the same way; and yet primitive man, wherever found, reasoned in about the same way, and developed his social institutions on substantially the same lines. We have but lately discovered that the more civilized tribes of ancient Mexico were in the first stage of this agricultural development. The gens was a property holding body claiming at least possessory rights to a certain tract of land, further that this was divided by council of the gens for individual cultivation. And yet there was no such thing as private property in land. The tribes of Java were found by the Dutch conquerors to have customs almost identical with those we have sketched. Similarly in Africa, New Zealand and ancient Peru. The village-communities in India, and the Russian *mir* are also excellent examples still in

tered, amongst the most diverse people, at that development everywhere must have p the same general lines.

Before passing to England and stud velopment there, let us pause to see wh arrived in this research. We have traced of society from the communal band to the tribal society, resting on agriculture as s have seen the gradual rise of the modern have seen that group rights and wrongs process of giving place to individual rights a we have glanced at the slow rise of proper noticed the influence which this idea has tribal customs; we have seen that even in i form it is a powerful agent in advancing . At the stage we have now reached there is idea of property in land. It is public pr every family in the gens has a right to an tion of the public land. There are no classes, equality is the rule. "Eternal v

We are now in condition to more fully consider the development in England. We choose that country for reasons apparent to all. Not only is it our mother country, from which we took our laws and social institutions, but it is the most advanced country to-day in industrial development. Every school boy is acquainted with the main outlines of its history. When ambitious Cæsar saw across the straits of Dover the chalky cliffs of Britain, it was already a well-settled country, inhabited by numerous Celtic tribes. From remote antiquity it had been celebrated for its supplies of tin, to obtain which Phœnician vessels had anchored in its harbors many centuries earlier.

The inhabitants were by no means naked barbarians. They had flocks and herds and practiced agriculture. They were living under advanced tribal society. We know almost nothing, however, about their customs, though they must have been like those of the neighboring tribes in Gaul. A few brief years of semi-conquest by Cæsar, then nearly a century of undisturbed quiet, and then England proper became a province of Rome, at that time in the very zenith of her power. Roman civilization followed fast the Roman sword. Cities, such as London, York and Chester, were built. They were guarded by massive walls, and joined together by magnificent roads; commerce sprang up, and agriculture was so flourishing that grain was exported in great quantities. There is no disputing the flourishing state of Roman civilization

in during the second and third centuries of our
t there is no need of dwelling on this picture ;
e centuries and a half that Britain remained a
e of Rome, though a long period of time, when
eft scarcely a trace behind.

is is a very singular statement to make. We
see how it can be, and yet this flourishing
of early English history, like an "unsubstan-
eant faded," was almost completely annihilated
nflow of less civilized tribes when the protect-
ons of Rome were withdrawn. Yet Roman
died a lingering death. More than a century
quarter of years intervened between the first
of the barbarian tribes in Kent and the battle

But Green, Freeman and Cunningham as strongly contend for the view here set forth. Without going into detail, it is at any rate clear that causes were at work among Germanic people that might carry them forward to the same stage of development as found in England. Until shown to be in error by more decisive facts than have yet been presented, we may regard English civilization as a native development of Teutonic culture without being greatly modified by the Roman customs it overthrew.

The German tribe or gau reappears in the English shire, the hundreds have the same name, and the gens is the early English village community. For more than eight hundred years, or until near the close of the fourteenth century, England was a purely agricultural country. We must recall that when the German tribes invaded England they were already in the agricultural stage of development. So the conquered lands of England were divided among the gentes of the invading tribes. We must not suppose that there was an invariable, rigid rule of procedure or any nice proportions maintained in division. Remember that more than one hundred and twenty-five years elapsed from the landing of the first German tribes to the final battle at Deorham. Now, the stages of conquest must have been about as follows: Fresh colonies of Teutonic invaders would arrive on the scene from time to time; or the pressure of population in the districts already conquered and settled compels new bands to

from thence and find new homes. Now such would as naturally organize themselves in gentes. Men would nowadays proceed to lay off their land into townships.

They may make the raid or conquest of some section under the leadership of some famous old man. The conquest achieved, the bands, if not organized in gentes, naturally fall apart in groups. They choose their chiefs, and are assigned or choose, some section of the conquered territory, their own particular mark, or *gemeinde*, and, broken down, form a village community. But this "broken down" means a good deal more than it does to-day, for the gens itself is the land-hold-

all Aryan people we find the clearest traces of just such a social institution as here pointed out; and further we know that when, some centuries later, the darkness hanging over social life in England begins to disappear, we find just such communities, modified as we would expect them to be in the lapse of time. We have a fairly clear idea of the greater historical movements on the surface. We know that the various tribes gradually coalesced into seven small kingdoms, from which finally developed the English nation, in 627, with Egbert as the first king. What we are concerned with, however, is the development of its social life and not its political history.

We must turn our attention more particularly now to the village communities. This is the social unit, to understand which is to understand the social life of the times. Such communities varied in size and in population. The territory they held consisted of two portions, *waste* land and *arable* land. By waste land, however, we are not to understand land incapable of cultivation, but timber land, pasture land, or even land in every way suitable for tillage, but which was not employed for that purpose. The arable land was that portion set apart for cultivation, generally under the three field system or *flurzwang* we mentioned above. A portion of their land depending on natural causes was set apart as the permanent meadow land of the community. If a community owned a number of thousand acres suitable for cultivation, but

PRIMITIVE LIFE.

needed to cultivate one thousand acres, we could do that they could, if they desired, after cultivating for a few years, select some other body of land for cultivation, and let the old portion lie fallow.

Such a method was called *extensive* tillage. Especially the best portion of land was permanently devoted to tillage, and the rest was included in the common waste and used for pasturage. Ample was the sign of village prosperity. The forests afforded plentiful supplies of fuel, as well as feeding ground for the herds of swine which the village swine-herds tended. Oxen and sheep thrived on the common waste. If population increased, other portions of the waste might be devoted to tillage. We must not not pictu

friends, with their drinking horns in hand, seated themselves on benches ranged around the room, while the gleeman sang his songs, or the harp was passed around from hand to hand. Finally the hall was the common sleeping room, where the men slept on bundles of straw strewn on the floor. Around each house there was a little inclosure or yard, enough to furnish a garden, to raise a little flax and to keep such stock as calves, for instance, requiring especial care. An individual possessing one of these homesteads, and having a right to his share of the common, might be designated in various ways. As distinguished from the chiefs, he was a *ceorl*, or freeman. He was the "*weaponed* man," who bore spear and sword; so he was said to be *schild-burtig*, born to the shield. He was said to be "*free-necked-man*"—that is, did not lay his neck to a lord, and as a sign of his freedom he let his hair grow long and float about his neck. In full recognition of the fact that theoretically they were all of the same gens, consequently blood relatives, they were called *geneats* or *geburs*, the co-born. In later Norman times they were collectively known as the villagers, or villani. In parts of England, as being at the head of a family, they were known simply as *husbands*. To describe such a collection of houses they did not have our word village. The native word was *Tun*, meaning properly an inclosed space. But to distinguish one from another the name of the gens was prefixed. Thus the village of the Harlings be-

PRIMITIVE LIFE.

Harlingtun. The tun properly meant an inclosure, and this brings to mind the great fact that in the early stage the village was surrounded by a mound or stockade or quick-set hedge, as well as enclosed by a ditch. Another word for the village was *heim*, the home. In this way the home of the *Wessex* became Billingham. Within the inclosed village, as we have stated, the houses of the *Wessex*. Somewhere near the center of the village was the *Wessex* or mound where the tun-moot, or village court, was held. In proximity to the village were the *Wessex* fields, and surrounding all was the common. It is further of interest to know how the common

under cultivation each year, while the third one lay fallow. This statement must be taken with the understanding that in the earlier stages, or when the communal tract was very large, the whole field of cultivation might shift about. After cultivating one tract for a few years they might select another portion to divide into the three fields and begin anew.

But now how was each household's rights to these three fields ascertained? The modern way would be to give each family a tract of about ten acres in each field. That, however, was not the primitive way. That would be too much like private ownership of which they had no idea. But the wants and enlightenment of the times gave them a method of procedure. The plow by which the fields were tilled was an extremely cumbersome thing. As a rule, which became the general custom, it was drawn by eight oxen, four teams or *oxgangs*, as they were called in some parts. Extracts from ancient laws from widely different sources, show that this was the normal plow-team. Now each gebur was expected to own at least two oxen, or do some service to make up for the lack of oxen. He might be the priest, or village smith, or plowman. But the land that this team of four oxgangs plowed, or four families cultivated, was known as a *hide* of land. This was a very general expression of measure, though other words were used such as *plow land*, which later word in Norman times was translated into Latin as *carucate*.

When the time came to plow, the teams were
to the fields, and hitched four abreast to the
Now the village foreman lays out the days
each team. This amount of course varied in
localities, according to the soil. In Germany
ps, the plowing of one day, were called "*mor-*
Wales they were called *cyvars* or *co-plowings*.
and they were called *ackers* or simply plowed
om which our own *acre* has come. Each team
ected to plow an acre a day. The method of
it off was as follows; The foreman cut a rod,
in ancient Wales, equal in length to the long
ed in plowing. Probably some such simple
his was the base of measurement in all primi-

more acre strips plowed, but the strips might not be parallel to those of the first day's work, they might be at right angles to them. It would take forty days for them to plow the common field of about four hundred and eighty acres. We have seen that four households united their teams for plowing. There were various rules for apportioning the acre strips plowed by each team among the four families furnishing the team. For instance, the first acre plowed might go to the plowman, the second to the driver, the third to the owner of the outside sward ox, etc. In this particular case we are giving the exact rules in force in ancient Wales, but customs varied. All we need say is that some well known rule was in force. But notice in this case, if the plowman had set aside for him one acre strip he plowed one day, it would be some days before he would plow another strip falling to his portion. Whatever the rule of division was we know the very general custom was to give to each gebur ten strips in each field. So at the end of the plowing, the plowman would have ten acre-strips scattered around in various portions of the common field. The same would be true of the land of each gebur who joined with him for work.

It follows that each hide of land was made up of scattered acre-strips. Each gebur had ten of these acre-strips in each field. And as there were three fields, his portion would be thirty acres. But notice, we are not dealing with private ownership. He had

right to work a portion of the common field. The names for this land were used. As referring to oxen who plowed it, it was in some sections called *two-oxen land* or two *bovates*; or, as we have seen, was measured out by rods, or as they called *rods*, a general name for it was a *gyrdland*, which was known as a *yard-land*, or in Norman *virgate*.

It is perhaps needless to add that each village was a self-sufficient one. The very life of modern times is its interdependence. One section depends on another. In the first thousand years of our era the case was very different. Each community lived an independent life. There was no buying or selling between

In the matter of trade, there was very little done. Some articles such as salt had to be procured from one or two sources. The great article of export was wool. Traders visited the fairs held at various parts and exchanged the wares from abroad for the wool. Although they had coined money, yet a very small supply was needed; since most of the trading was conducted by means of barter. The traders or chap-men going from village to village were exposed to great dangers, for they were strangers, and strangers had no rights. It is interesting to notice some of the early laws in this connection. At the present day if we detect an unknown man stealthily coming into our houses, at night, we are justified in shooting him. One of the laws of King Ihne, about 700 A. D., ordains that "If a far-coming man journey through a wood out of the highway, and neither shout nor blow his horn, he is to be held as a thief, and either slain or redeemed." These chap-men were required to do their trading before witnesses so that they might prove their innocence when accused of theft. Alfred, in order to prevent crime, orders that the chap-men should put on record at the folk-moot, (shire or tribal court), what men he intended to take with him, and to declare it when he had need of more. It is evident that trade was not very flourishing. Properly speaking, capital did not as yet exist.

In a few short lines we can dismiss the political life of the primitive times. We must not think we are

with simple peasant farmers. The early Saxons were fierce warriors and pirates as well as agriculturists. Of some tribes we know that while a part of the number staid at home and cultivated the land for all, the other portion were doing duty as warriors. Each tun or heim sent its quota to the war of the tribe. In times of war a special war-chief, the hetoga was chosen.

We have thus far been sketching what might be the normal village community. A more serious task now before us, to show how inequalities arose, how land became private property, how the village communities gave place to the manor, with its holding lord, how the great mass of people,

this claim on the part of the people generally gave rise in process of time to hereditary chiefs. The mischief was done. The rights of the Athling would increase from this time on, just as those of the mass of the people would decrease. It is somewhat interesting to observe that Caesar noticed in his day that while the office of civil chief passed by inheritance, yet when it came to choosing the war chief, the people still elected him. The reason is plain. The son might be abundantly able to fill his father's place as civil chief, the official head of the people. He might not, however, be a good warrior.

But another cause still was at work, depending on the development of civilization. In savage tribes the warriors are accustomed to form in bands under the guidance of some successful warrior. This same principal was at work among the Germanic people. Ambitious leaders would gather around them, bands of people conquer a new home, form a new settlement, the successful leader becoming the Athling. Then again, we know as a matter of history, that the Saxon tribes in England early united in seven kingdoms. That is to say, the tribes united themselves in seven groups for a conquest or protection, the common war-chief becoming the king. He also gathers around him his band of warriors. They become his thanes and thus a new order of nobility arises.

In the matter of land we can quite easily understand the changes that took place as time passed on.

PRIMITIVE LIFE.

It is not supposed that the chief's portion was for him in any different way than that of the community generally. He had his acre-strip along with the rest. But owing to the office he filled, and the responsibilities of his station, he probably had a more generous allowance and it was worked for him by the people generally. But the community laid claim to quite an extensive section of country. He, as official head of the community, had to assert the claims of his people. That territory, it was his duty to see that their boundary marks were preserved. It was not strange that when his office became hereditary he gradually came to consider himself in some sense the owner of the land and of the community. His feeling could not fail to be strengthened

The thane, when granted an estate, of course considered it as his property, subject only to military duty or some trifling rent to the king. But in cultivating his land he could only follow the general customs of the country. He would have to procure a band of followers, set aside an arable tract for them to cultivate in common, after their immemorial customs, grant them right of common in the general waste and have his own portion tilled by the labor of the community. Other grants made by the king were to religious houses, that is to monasteries. Great estates would be granted to them on condition that masses be said for the soul of the grantor.

In the meantime a change was slowly being effected in the distribution of the land. In the earlier stages, the wants of new households could be provided for by putting more land to tillage, but the time all too quickly arrived when there could be no more families provided for, or we can see that when once the noble claimed and was allowed ownership in the land, he would object to other families being admitted to a share in the common right. So from year to year the same households were allowed the same acre strips scattered around in the common fields. The next step was for them to believe that they owned in private ownership the yard-land or virgate, composed as it was of these several strips. Thus the beginning of private property in land. The memory of the older state of affairs was still retained. If he wanted to sell

PRIMITIVE LIFE.

possession, consent must still be obtained from

There was a time once when the common-
ed the land of the war-chief who watched
common interests of all. This was now exchanged
common interests of all. This was now exchanged
certain amount of work done for the lord of

Further we can see how there might arise
of citizens for whom there might be no
e land to divide, but who might possess a home
ork on the lord's land, and have some right
ommon pasturage. One point more must be
, amongst all people in a tribal state of society
various causes, people become outcasts and
connections with a gens, this means a loss of
s which such relations usually carried with them
requently all rights to a portion of the village
t would not do to let them starve, or to be fed

the neck to any lord found themselves together with their land, more or less the property of the old chief, who has now become a noble lord.

Finally there came the Norman conquest solidifying the changes made. This introduces us to the English Manor. Before explaining more particularly in reference to that system, it is well to explain that a number of writers would disagree with us as to the origin of the manor system. They think that it is the direct descendant of the Roman Villa. However, a more numerous body will sustain the views here set forth. So we may for the present conclude that the English Manor is the form finally assumed by the free English village communities, impelled to that end by many causes, such as neglect to assert their own rights on the part of the community at large, the acquiescing in the aggressive claims of the chiefs, the growth of kingships, the neglect to assert their rights to the public lands, allowing the king to dispose of it to his favorites and to the church, and actually allowing themselves to fall into a species of servitude more or less distinct to their chief. Of course this degree of dependence would vary greatly. In some instances it never did take place, since we saw evidences of free village communities, even at the time of the conquest, and in one case, at a far later date, we have preserved evidence of the lord's attempt to fasten his claim on a manor, but without success.

If we now pause for a moment, we will see we

PRIMITIVE LIFE.

reached quite an important point in the development of industrial life in England. We have given an outline of the slow development of tribal society. We have confined our attention to the Saxon tribes, and have seen the origin of village communities. These changes are easily explainable when we see the origin from which they sprung. Society appeared at a point not sufficiently advanced to maintain the equality and fraternity of the times. Hence the rise of property classes, while the mass of people sink into a more or less dependent state. We have now to trace the gradual rise of the various industrial arts, the extension of commerce, and the efforts of the people to get away with the distinction into classes which

CHAPTER III.

VILLANAGE.

Introduction of Feudalism—The Domesday Survey—The condition of a Villan—His duties—His relations to the Lord—The Cotters—Slaves—Socmen—Free Tenants—Officials of a Manor—Population of England in the 11th Century—Commutation of Villan obligations—A new Legal Theory—Outbreak of the plague—Scarcity of Laborers—Statute of Laborers—Combination—Tyler's Insurrection—Condition of England in the 15th Century—The Golden Age of Laborers—Inclosures—Sheep Husbandry—Bacon's Description of the Evil—Condition of England in the 16th Century—Decay of the Yeomanry—Conclusion.



THE ENGLISH Manor, in all its distinctive features, was in existence before William the Norman overthrew the forces of Harold in the battle of Hastings. What the Normans did was but to apply Norman names to institutions they found in vogue. Or at most, they simply emphasized the changes which had already taken place. The state of society we have described, composed of persons possessing various degrees of freedom, or living in various stations which generally carried with them a claim to a portion of land, constituted a feudal system. The Normans no more intro-

VILLANAGE.

and feudalism into England than they introduced manors. The king more sharply asserted his right to the public land, he brooked no rebellion, and all had to acknowledge that he was supreme. His own followers were granted vast estates, and, in the great majority of cases, the original owners were driven to make room for the victors. But villanage itself had been slowly growing in England for centuries.

We have now reached the time of the Domesday Survey. This survey was in the nature of a census. William sent out commissioners to gather statistics of the various manors; the amount of land, the number of villages, the terms on which

fellow villagers. The larger portion of the arable land formed the common fields of the village, the gebura were now called *villans*, and were said to hold their land of the lord in *villanage*. Then there was the commons, the old waste lands of the community, now recognized as the lord's waste, though the villans had rights of pasturage and other common rights.

The villans had long lost a considerable portion of their freedom. However, their rights and disabilities were rigidly fixed by immemorial custom, which varied on the different manors. In each manor what customs it had long acquiesced in were binding. It is more than probable that the early law writers of England have represented the powers of the lord as greater than they really were, for he also was governed by custom. If the villans were, as it was said, tied to the land, the land was also tied to them. Each villan, as a rule, had a right to work thirty acre-strips scattered around in the village fields, but he could not sell this right without the lord's consent. He could not leave the manor without the lord's consent. The simple fact is that duties which he once owed to the whole village be now owed to the lord. He could not give his daughter away in marriage without his lord's consent, nor sell his land, or in case of his death, his son could not inherit his right without the consent of the lord, which consent could be obtained by the payment of a small fine.

In an earlier stage, he cultivated the chief's por-

VILLANAGE.

while the chief guarded the rights of the village. Now rights and duties on both sides were fixed by immemorial custom. As stated before, they varied on different manors, just as primitive laws had been different, but on any one manor they were the same for all the villans. A general obligation must be given. For two or three days of each week throughout the year, he was expected to work on the lord's land, this was called *week* work. The principal seasons of the year, such as harvest, spring or Autumn plowing, the lord had the right to demand special services, these special services were known as *precariae*, that which the lord had a right to demand, or in English they were called *boon* days.

Extra services were sometimes given, so many days "carrying," that is, teaming for the lord. He must wash and shear sheep one or more days, and it sounds odd, but sometimes it was provided that he must put in one day in the fall gathering nuts for the lord. Now keep firmly in mind just what all these services really were. There was a time once when the free-born geburs voluntarily worked their chief's portion of their common land while he attended to the business of the community. After long years of encroachment, the chief has become the lord, claiming all the land, the geburs are villans holding their land of the chief in consideration of these various services, sometimes quite exacting, sometimes light, even frivolous, always annoying. They were tied to the ground, the ground tied to them, and both were the qualified property of the lord.

Below the villans there was a class of tenants known as *collers*. Most of them held only a cottage and one or two acres of ground, sometimes as much as seven or eight acres. This land also consisted of scattered acre-strips. The principal point of difference between them and the villans was that they had no oxen, consequently took no part in the plowing. His services were of the same general character as the villan's, but on a smaller scale. For instance he was to work one day each week at whatever the lord required; and a whole week in harvest. Then he was expected to drive and go on errands, and to wash and shear

and while thus engaged, to receive a loaf and a
bread and some cheese a day.

We have named the two principal classes of ten-
But two other classes are to be mentioned.
s slaves, called *servi*, taking all of the country
r there were but few of them, only nine per
fact, though not equally distributed. In the
and middle sections of the country but about
cent., in the western sections the percentage
igh as twenty-four. We have glanced at some
that might have brought about the result. The
ct that there were more along the western
shows that in many cases they represent the
ed population of the old Britons. Of course

as soldiers when occasion required. This class of tenants formed but four per cent. of the whole population, were almost absent in the western and southern portions of England, but formed as high as forty-five per cent. in the eastern portions. The explanation seems to be quite simple. They were families who had in some way retained a measure of their ancient liberties. As the percentage is so much greater in just those portions of England which were exposed to Danish invasion, it shows that there the people who had to exert themselves to defend their lives and possessions remembered their liberties longer. Another class of tenants were known as *free* tenants, but they were almost the same as the socmen. They cultivated portions of the lord's demesne land. It is very hard to define their status. All the old authors are confused in their description. They paid rent for their land and often had to do certain kinds of work. But, in many cases at least, they did not have to pay a fine to the lord when they married their daughter, or sold an ox. They were found in the greatest abundance in the same section of country as the socmen, and probably the same explanation may be given as to their origin.

A manor, such as we have now described, required certain officials for its management. There was the *steward*, the direct representative of the lord, who held the manorial court. He was expected to be familiar with the customs of the manor, the number

acres to be plowed, how much seed was necessary for the sowing. The *bailiff* may be described as the overseer or 'manager. In a book written late in the fifteenth century his duties are set forth : " He should rise early in the morning, and see that the plow-teams are yoked ; and then he should walk around and inspect the tilled fields, woods, meadows and pastures.

Then he should visit the plows at their work, and take care that the oxen are not unyoked till a full day's work has been done. He is to direct the reaping, mowing, carting and other work." The *reeve* was the villans' foreman. He was chosen by the villans to represent their interests. He kept account of their day's work and reckoned them up with the

could hold such a court however, it required a special grant to confer criminal jurisdiction.

Such was the English manorial system of the eleventh century. The population of England at that time was about one and a half millions. In this population there were about two hundred thousand villans and cotters, about thirty-five thousand socmen and free tenants. A little more than one-third of the arable portion of the land, or about five million acres, was under cultivation. About three million acres of this cultivated land was held by the two hundred and thirty-five thousand tenant farmers by various terms of tenure. We must not forget that their claim to the land was quite as strong as the lord's claim to them. The lord was bound by custom even as they were, and in some cases he was actually subject to a fine if he neglected his duties. There was still a vast amount of land, some eighty per cent. of the whole of England, waste or unimproved land. There were enormous tracts of forests and marsh. The home of the wild boar, wolves, deer and bear. Hunting was the chief past-time of the nobility. We must not suppose that all of the population were agriculturalists. At the time of the conquest there were some eighty towns in England containing a population of about one hundred and fifty thousand.

Now, before considering the development of the towns, which is most intimately connected with our present industrial system, we must notice what changes

ually came over the manorial system, and thus
out this line of development first. Trifling
ages sometimes mark the beginning of movements
ned to exert a great influence on society at large.
have seen what a great change slowly, almost im-
eptibly, was produced by the mere conception of
onal property. The increased use of money as
general measure of exchange value finally leads
ngst all people from a payment in kind to a pay-
in money. Instead of goods being exchanged
oods, they are exchanged for money. The same
iple is finally applied to the holding of land. The
ency began to commute the various services into
ey. This was the beginning of a movement which

many ways, the money might be of more advantage to the lord.

It is thought that this process of commutation begun even before the conquest, but it certainly went forward quite rapidly after that event. Late in the thirteenth century Edward I. sent commissioners into the various counties of England to inquire into the holding of land, on the same principle that William had caused the doomsday survey to be made. The result of this inquiry showed there were at that time three principal classes of tenants. One who had commuted all their services for a definite money payment, and we might remark, by the way, that this class was not now considered as villans, but had advanced to the ranks of free men. A second class paid money or rendered service as the lord desired; and the third class, finally, performed either the whole or at any rate a great part of the actual services due. This is as we might have expected, for the tendency would be for commutation to increase as time went on. For several reasons the number of free tenants had increased. Inasmuch as one of the principal duties was to cultivate the lord's land, it might be more advantageous to the lord to let his land for money rent. This would render his need for tenants less, and so he would be more ready to accept commutation of their work. * But all this was steadily working towards the dissolution of the old manor.

By this time a new legal theory had been evolved

VILLANAGE.

the crown lawyers; which was especially applicable to the landholding nobility. It was this view which found expression in the law books, and which has come down to present times and has been accepted by those who have not inquired deeper. This theory supposed that the whole manor system was created by grant, that the lord was and always was the real owner of the soil, that the rights of the tenants were only such as he had seen fit to grant in consideration of services, etc. The effect of this theory was to construe the tenants' rights strictly in accordance with the opposite course should have been taken. The tenants' rights should have been construed strictly according to the meaning of this last phrase, to those not accus-

relaxing is that the tenants had to sh

urage the lord could do as he wished with the rest. What is known as the Statute of Merton in 1235 legalized such enclosure which right was further extended by the Statute of Westminster, 1285. Just the opposite view should have been maintained. The lord should have been strictly confined to his ancient demesne lands.

About the middle of the fourteenth century occurred the terrible outbreak of the Plague, or as it was called, the Black Death, in Europe. It is estimated that twenty-five million people died during this epidemic. From one-third to one-half of the population of England was swept away. Such a terrible visitation as this formed an epoch, and for many years afterwards it was used as a date to reckon from. The effects of this reign of terror showed themselves in every direction. The novelist, Boccaccio, shows how the general despair of the times made men reckless, superstitious, heartless, cruel and licentious. The historian, Sismondi, has collected statistics to the same effect. It was noticed in England that a notable decline of learning and morals was observed among the clergy, many persons of slight accomplishments and low character stepping into vacant places. We are not surprised then to learn of great changes taking place in agricultural interests. When we reflect what a large portion of the population was swept away, in some cases whole villages were almost depopulated, we can at once see that there would ensue a very great

angement of existing relations, and a great scarcity of agricultural labor. Crops rotted in the fields for want of hands. Cattle and sheep roamed at large over the country for lack of herdsmen. In one old chronicle dated 1351 we read that owing to the vast "mortality" of men in these days—lands lie uncultivated in many places, not a few tenements daily and suddenly become vacant and are pulled down, rents and services cannot be collected, nor the advantage of them generally had can be derived."

This scarcity of laborers was followed by several important results. In the first place, many manors, owing to the great decrease in the number of their tenants, and being unable to obtain more laborers,

work and has no other means of livelihood is not to refuse to do so for any one who offers the accustomed wages ; each lord is to have the preference in hiring the men on his own estate, but none is to have too many men for his work." No laborer was to leave his employment before the time agreed upon, or to receive more rations or wages than they did in the years before the plague. This regulation applied to all classes of laborers—town laborers, such as tailors and carpenters—as well as agricultural laborers. The statute also tried to regulate the prices of provisions and the necessities of life. Strict penalties were announced against those who, if able to labor, refused to do so, but preferred to "tramp," as we would say now, those who assisted such tramps were to be imprisoned.

Later these penalties were rendered more severe. Laborers and artificers were fined and imprisoned without bail if they refused to work. Those who broke their agreement were to be outlawed and if captured branded with the letter F for their falsity, while towns where runaways were harbored were to be fined ten pounds.

Prof. Rogers shows how this attempt to regulate wages failed. "Year after year, almost century after century, the Parliament complained that the statute of laborers was not kept, re-enacted it, strove to make it effective, were baffled, adopted new and harsher expedients, and were disappointed." The fact is, although

VILLANAGE.

es not appear on the surface of affairs, that some sort of a combination made by the v es of laborers, to resist this legislation, and successful. In various ways the law was ev inally the old compensation might be give ome ways the laborer would be compen ing this scheme would not work the land nobility bethought themselves of another . We have seen there were three clas ts. The lowest class paid the larger part o in actual labor. The new idea was to be c not release such tenants from their labor o to hold them strictly to it. The second cl ts paid either money rent or services at tl

We are not concerned with his religious teachings, save as they throw light on the present problem. The simple fact is, in his revolt against the pope, he taught the natural equality of all men. He had furthermore organized a class of poor priests. They were to travel around, living on charity, exhorting men to good work, and teaching their founders ideas, but subject to no discipline. It was just this class of wandering priests, with their ideas of social equality, who were active agents in warning all classes of villans of their danger, and who assisted them in organizing to prevent it.

Accordingly in the year 1381 there was a formidable insurrection led by Wat Tyler. Judged from this difference in time, it seems to have been more a series of mob movements than anything else. It was suppressed in a very short time, and yet all England was profoundly moved, and it seems as if the nobility at once abandoned all hopes of re-established villanage. Commutation was resumed, and the whole institution gradually passed away. In 1447 we find Henry VI. legislating about his bondsmen in Wales. A writer in the third decade of the sixteenth century laments over the continuance of villanage as a disgrace to the country. "Howbeit" he says, "in some places the bondsmen continue as yet, the which me seemeth the greatest inconvenience, that now is suffered by the law, that is to have any Christian man bounden to another." In 1574 we find Elizabeth setting free the villans on the royal estate.

VILLANAGE.

Thus villanage as an institution passed on to the future. But the substantial fruit of these centuries of development remained with the nobles, claiming their own freedom from the slavery in which they had allowed themselves to sink, the tenants unfortunately suffered the lord's claim to remain in existence. Deprived of the services of his villans, except at a rate of wages he was unwilling to pay, the lord let out more and more of his land for a money rent. In places they extended the boundaries of the farms, and became more aggressive about enclosing the common waste or the lord's waste as it was called. The lord also adopted the custom of leasing his land and stock to tenants for a period of years.

borers for hire. This pleasant state of affairs is referred to in most glowing terms by writers of the time. So prosperous were the laborers that parliament thought it wise to interfere to prevent their wearing such costly apparel as they did.

In 1463 it was enacted that laborers should not wear clothing made of material that cost more than two shillings a yard, while their wives were not to give more than a shilling for a head-dress. That would be about like a law at the present day, that ordinary workmen's wives should not wear costly seal cloaks.

A great but silent change, which had been going on for centuries, had by this time fully developed. Ancient tribal society resting on personal relations and groups of persons as a basis, had now fully given place to modern political society. The lines of cleavage which run through society were no longer perpendicular, splitting it up into little groups, but were now horizontal, dividing society into great classes of people. And now also begun the play of modern economic ideas, which have steadily, slowly but surely pushed these classes wider and wider apart. Modern industrial life was then assuming great proportions. A great career of progress was about to open before the Anglo-Saxon people, but it was progress accompanied by poverty. Modern pauperism dates from the fourteenth century. No less an authority than Prof. Rogers has left on record his strong conviction that as far as suffering arising from common necessities of life are

VILLANAGE.

erned, there is much greater misery at present than in all the enlightenment of the times, than in the best days of villanage.

The fifteenth century, which we have seen as the golden age of the agricultural labourer, was a century of disturbance in English history on account of the many conflicts between the houses of York and Lancaster. This led to the great impoverishment of the king and barons. Now each great lord kept a band of armed retainers ready to fight under his leadership.

They were the fifteenth century survivals of the bands of warriors who gathered around the standards of successful chiefs in primitive times. When the nobles found themselves almost impoverished by the ruinous wars of the Roses, they were compelled to keep these bands of retainers. It is true that

pulled down and cultivated land turned into pasturage. But this was not the worst. Encroachments on the common waste became very bold. When Henry Tudor united the houses of York and Lancaster this evil had grown to great dimensions. This led to a decline in rural population. A writer of the times declares that in nearly every manor from seventeen to twenty houses were gone to decay from loss of tenants, that some villages had decreased from one-fourth to one-half, that whole towns had been destroyed for sheep walks.

The government of the times attempted to remedy the evil. Bacon, in his history of Henry VII., has left quite an interesting account of the evils of inclosures and the laws to prevent the same. He tells us that this course "bred a decay of people and by consequence a decay of towns, churches, tithes and the like." The statute enacted in 1489 ordained that all "houses of husbandry" to which twenty acres of land belonged should be preserved. The idea was that if such houses were kept up there would of necessity be a yeoman farmer living there, and such men were, as Bacon observes, the main-stay of the king's armies and invaluable to the country. This law, however, like a great many more useful laws, failed of its effect. Less than fifty years later, in the reign of Henry VIII., this law was renewed. It goes on to state how "many farms and large flocks of cattle, especially of sheep, are concentratated in the hands of a few men, whereby

of the land has much risen and tillage has
off, churches and houses have been pulled down,
marvellous numbers of people have been de-
of the means whence with to maintain them-
and their families, but be so discouraged with
and poverty that they fall daily to theft, rob-
and other inconveniences, or pitifully die for
and cold." Hence it orders the rebuilding of
houses. But these laws failed, just as steadily as
day sometimes fail of their effect.

e must now turn aside to glance at one phase
Reformation. When the power of the church
erthrown by Henry VIII. he deprived the
us religious houses, monasteries and the like,

was such that he did not leave sufficient pasturage for the tenants in common. They were poor and could not resist the lord, but the result was that while not actually evicted, they could no longer keep the stock they used to, and hence their farming became unprofitable. A new form of enclosure began to be common in the fifteenth century. That consisted in breaking up the common cultivated fields of which we have spoken, and dividing the land among the number of tenants. No great objection could be made to this form, and in the eighteenth century it became very common. No less than four thousand enclosure acts, distributing seven million acres of land were passed by Parliament from 1760 to 1845.

If we will now reflect we will see that by the sixteenth century industrial affairs in England were vastly different from what they were in the eleventh. This will come out all the more clearly when we consider the growth and development of towns. At that early date agriculture was almost the only pursuit; while there were, to be sure, great lords claiming vast estates, yet the great mass of the people claimed rights in a definite amount of land, and by far the larger portion of the land was owned in common by the tenants of the various manors. By the sixteenth century there was the land holding nobility owning the larger portion of the land. In the common land the lord's right was so strong that he felt at liberty to enclose what he wanted, provided he left enough for pasturage for the

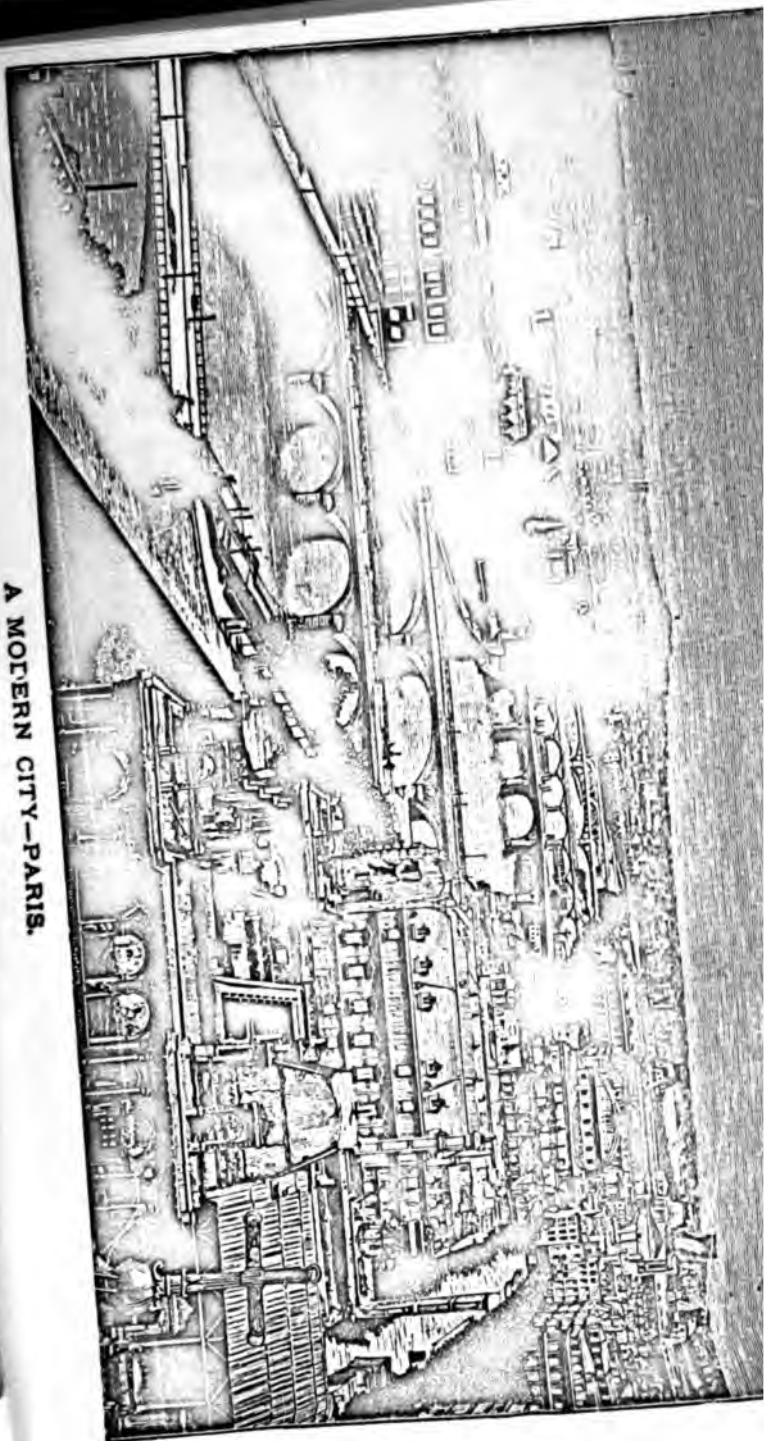
the tenants, but this vague and uncertain quantity was largely at the mercy of the lord, and in many ways he knew how to circumvent the law. There was also an increasing number of the population, the great mass even at that early date, who had no claim on the land, and no way of obtaining any. They constituted a great army of laborers. Another class had come into existence, a class virtually unknown at the early date, this was a class of paupers. "Paupers everywhere," exclaimed Elizabeth. This was true. The reason is plain to any one who understands the slow process extending through some centuries by which the common people had been deprived of their rights to the land.

the ranks of the yeomanry had been thinned," says Toynbee, "the process of extinction went on with ever growing rapidity. The survivors became isolated, they would have no one of their own station to whom they could marry their daughters, and would become more and more willing to sell their lands, however strong the passion of possession might be."

Now notice that as far as land is concerned in England, it commenced by being common property, it was a long and slow process by which private property was evolved, and no sooner does that make its appearance than we see that already privileged classes have made their appearance. Then there dawned the age of modern capitalistic production, and from that day to this the process has continued to its inevitable end, that is, the vast majority of inhabitants are poverty stricken and landless. Less than one per cent. of the population of Great Britain are land holders. Twelve hundred individuals own on an average over sixteen thousand acres each.



A MODERN CITY-PARIS.



CHAPTER IV.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOWNS.

Increasing Importance of Trade—Towns in Ancient Greece
Early Britain—How Towns were formed—From the Village
Community—Around Monasteries—From Danish Times—The
Development of Towns—Rise of the Gild-Merchant—Powers of the
How the towns gained a local Government—The Gild and
Local Authorities—Town Life in the 12th century—Foreign
—Foreign Gilds—The Medieval Fairs—The Stourbridge
—Rise of Craft-Gilds—Development of the Gilds—The Decay
of the Gilds—Conclusion.

great exertion to procure such luxuries. They weave cloth, invent and manufacture useful commodities in order to have something to exchange for them. Success in this direction spurs the mind on to greater efforts and thus progress continues at an accelerated rate. The machinery by which such exchange is effected is trade, on an extended scale we call it commerce. Trade calls into being and gives employment to a class of people not connected with the land. They settle in towns, which if advantageously located, grow into cities. The inhabitants of such towns are, or were in the first place, called *burghers*, from whence comes the word *bourgeois*, and bourgeois laws or economy came to be very important in the history of political economy.

Thus the development of towns plays an important part in our investigations. This development has not been the same in all lands. In ancient Greece, no less than in Rome, the settlements of the tribes themselves developed into cities. This simple fact had a great deal to do with the peculiarly rich culture that developed so early in those lands. In all Teutonic countries, however, as we have seen, the tribe split up and the gentes formed little agricultural communities, the origin of towns proper must be looked for in another direction. We will only consider the case of Britain.

When Britain was a Roman province, there were a number of flourishing cities, but when the Teutonic

invaded the country the majority of these disap-

The very sites of some are now unknown. Some have but recently been discovered. Thus in London quite by accident was discovered the site of Londinium, one of the wealthiest of them all. Some of the London were spared. The history of this city is not only an exceptional one, but even it was largely in ruins by the Saxon conquerors. It is at once evident that all towns which did survive the storm were in quite a different situation from the agricultural towns. In the first place their government must have been quite different. To illustrate, in the case of London, there was the nucleus of the old Roman town surrounded by several agricultural villages, all of

of several villages. This is shown in a curious manner at Cambridge. We have seen that the *pindar* or village pound-keeper was a village official. In Cambridge this office survived. And though there was need for but one pound-keeper, yet as late as 1834 the several different districts of the city corresponding to the old villages elected each their *pindar*. In such cases as these the town would remain under the jurisdiction of a feudal lord, possibly of several, how they were able to shake off the yoke will be shown later.

Many English towns grew up around monasteries. Oxford, St. Albans, Durham, may be mentioned as examples. It is a principal as old as human nature to celebrate by means of funeral games the memory of heroes. This gave occasion for meeting and for trading, and annual fairs were subsequently held at such place of burial. The commemoration of the saint in whose honor the monastery was founded, served the same purpose. The origin of Glasgow may be traced from the burial place of St. Ninian. Such towns as these were under the control of the abbot of the monastery, and the monks were very tenacious of their rights. Of this we will speak later, we might say that in some cases the claims of the abbot were only extinguished by actual warfare, as at Norwich, Reading and some other places.

Many towns date from the time of the Danish invasion. In some cases, as at Warwick, garrisons were stationed to keep the Danes in subjection. Such

required for its maintenance supplies of various kinds. This gave rise to a market, and a town thus grew up. Another cause, however, was the Danes and Northmen. The Danes and Northmen were the leading merchants of the day. They undertook long sea voyages. As is well known they settled Iceland, Greenland, and sailed up and down the eastern coast of the United States long before Columbus anchored in the New World. They were acquainted with the Mediterranean regions as well. It is true they were pirates, but then at that time and for long afterwards piracy was reckoned an honorable calling. Their influence, solely to advance their trade, many towns were started. Stamford, Nottingham,

feudal lord or abbot. The towns were generally commanded by a castle, the most important of which were garrisoned by the royal forces as at Oxford and Windsor.

Now we must inquire as to the government of the towns, the subject is of importance since it introduces us to the gild system of the middle ages. It is only by slow steps that institutions develop. As we have seen in many cases the towns were under the rule or jurisdiction of a feudal lord, and the citizens were in much the same circumstances as the ordinary villagers, even to the extent of having to do week work, furnishing teams for plowing, etc. But we can see how the possession of wealth, learning and energy would give the townsmen an advantage over the villagers, and how at a very early date, they would, in the majority of cases, contrive to commute the usual services for a definite money payment, and in time manage to free themselves from even that payment. In the case of the town of Leicester there is still preserved the quit-claim deed of Earl Robert, given in 1190.

And even in cases where they were still held to the jurisdiction of a superior, the townsmen would quite naturally wish to form some organization to govern themselves in matters of trade, and in general to watch over their interest. They could only copy after some model with which they were familiar; that is to say, with tribal society, with the gens. All the mem-

a gens regarded themselves as brothers, they
rights and duties in common; they were bound to
help to their brothers in time of danger; in
times they had their common gods, or relig-
ious rites; they met together on festive occasions
to partook of a common meal. The townsmen or-
ganized an artificial gens. The names of such an
association was *gild*. This word gild meant, accord-
ing to Suetonius, in the first place the sacrificial meal
made out of the common contributions, thence it came
to mean a sacrificial banquet in general, and lastly a

sacrificial societies of this kind had existed from
time immemorial. All ancient schools of philosophy,

share of the common land, and as a consequence villagers were all land-holders, so in the earlier gilds, only the possessors of town land could be members, but this of course included nearly all the people. There was a pressure brought to bear on all eligible members to join. In some cases new members were sworn to inform the gild of town traders able to join the association who did not do so. In such cases some pressure would be brought to bear and he would be subject to repeated fines until he joined. Both privileges and duties attached to them as members of a gild.

If a member of a gild was slain it was his gild that endeavored to bring his assailant to justice. But if a gild-brother was the slayer then his gild would afford him legal protection, and see that he was not unjustly convicted. Similarly, if in any manner of trouble he could count on the assistance of his gild. If a gildman of Southampton were put in prison in any part of England, the alderman and the steward and one of the wardens were bound to go at the cost of the gild to procure his deliverance. At Berwick, members of the gild were bound to labor on behalf of a member in danger of losing life or limb. It is on record how, when all the Flemings were arrested in London, one was ordered discharged by the king because the gild of Lynn claimed him as a member. Sick gildmen were visited and wine and food sent to them from the feast. Brethren who had fallen into

... were relieved. In case of death the brethren
... at he was fittingly buried. Only members of
... could engage in trade, excepting that in the
... provisions all were at liberty.

... e can see that the time would arrive in all
... at all prosperous, when such an intelligent and
... ed body of citizens as the gild brethren would
... n various pretenses to free themselves from
... udal lords. Long before the isolated village
... nities felt this impulse the towns, enlivened by
... brought in contact with the outside world, found
... ke of a feudal lord galling. Then, as now,
... could accomplish wonders. At the time of the
... s the feudal nobles were extremely anxious to
... oney, and especially was this the case during

towns often felt themselves obliged to pay a fine, or a bribe, to a new king, to have him confirm the privileges granted by his predecessors. Late in the eleventh century we find examples of royal charters granted by Henry I. Such privileges had been won by one hundred and fifty towns in the thirteenth century. It is to be noticed that in all chartered towns the gild merchant was given a legal standing, but the association itself had doubtless existed long before.

Having paid a good round sum for their privilege, it was but natural that the townsmen should not be willing to let outsiders enjoy them. There was no such a thing as a citizen removing from one town to another to engage in business. Not at all. Town privileges were a valuable right, not open to every comer. A citizen of one town might indeed be elected a member of a gild in another, but that was a great favor. Neither are we to understand that the privileges of all towns were the same, they varied according to the circumstances of each case. But in process of time when the good features of certain charters were generally acknowledged, the citizens of towns, when about to be granted a charter, would often make request for a charter like that of some well known place. Thus we know that the men of Gloucester offered John two hundred marks for the customs, laws and liberties of Winchester. In this manner the customs of London were gradually extended over a very large area.

While it is true that the gild merchant included in the first instance the majority of the citizens of a town, it did not include all, neither was it true that all the government of a town was in its hands. It is of course clear that when a body of men were recognized as competent to regulate matters of trade, they might also be trusted with the lesser details of government. We must remember that in the ranks of the gild merchant would be found the "solid" men of the town, financially responsible, therefore its suggestions would have great weight. The gild had also its own courts and as far as possible, it endeavored to settle disputes between its own members. The extent and nature of their jurisdiction varied according to time and place. All these features made the gild the great in-

turalists. The inhabitants of the various towns were also in agricultural pursuits. But they had their especial organization, their gild. They had already shaken off many of the claims of their feudal lord. As yet, however, there was not, properly speaking, an English nation, that is to say, a united body of people having the same laws and customs. While a great many laws were the same in all parts of the kingdom, still a little research will show us that local customs largely ruled. In case a tax was ordered to defray government expenses, some towns paid more than others, some, owing to the terms on which they held their land, were free. The merchants of some towns were free of toll, passage and other customs, throughout all England, as in case of the Cinque Ports, others free only in certain sections, as the men of Beverly and York, who were free from tolls in Yorkshire. We must remember further there was the greatest jealousy between the towns. A merchant of one town was not free to do business in another. The Norwich merchant who visited London was as much of a foreigner there as the man from Bruges or Rouen. This is illustrated in a curious way by two official letters of the fourteenth century. In the one the authorities of London ask the authorities of Gloucester to compel a citizen of that place to pay a debt to a citizen of London. A second letter is from the authorities of a small town in the Netherlands, acquainting the London Burgomasters that a citizen of their town had acceded

their request and paid a debt owing in London. Though one of these towns was but a short distance and in their own country, while the other was in the Netherlands, yet the method of procedure was the same to collect a debt owing to a citizen of London. The word must now be given to foreign trade. In the midst of the many difficulties before them, merchants from a great distance were anxious to trade in England; on the other hand, the English people wished to export their wares. But here was the trouble, the foreigners wanted to live according to their own rules, to settle their own disputes according to their own laws, they wanted a place where they could live and store their goods and not be at the mercy of Eng-

at Cologne, and granted them still other privileges. They were to pay two shillings yearly for their gild-hall in London, and they were to be free of all tolls and customs in the city, and also to be free to buy and sell at fairs throughout the land. The men of Lubeck, Hamburg, and the Flemish merchants all had gilds of their own. The Steelyard was the name of a noted house of the German merchants.

These foreign gilds endeavored to protect their numbers from illegal exactions, and to settle disputes between themselves according to their own customs. But there were many feuds to be settled between them and the authorities of London, or the city where they might be located, for London was not the only place where they were found. Thus for instance one of the principal obligations of the Cologne merchants in London was to keep in repair the city gate, known as the "Bishop's gate." They subsequently became careless in this matter, and the city authorities threatened to distrain them. Whereupon they made repairs and promised faithful compliance in the future. Among the perils of foreign trade at that time we might mention the danger of reprisal. Thus Edward III. owed a certain Flemish noble one hundred pounds. The king refused to pay it, whereupon the property of an entirely innocent English merchant, doing business in Flanders, was seized for the same. The fact is, it had been quite a common custom to hold a man coming from another town, whether from England or

responsible for the debts incurred by any of
w townsmen.

e have all read more or less of the great fairs
certain parts of Russia, especially at Novgorod.
r during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries
most important means of carrying on trade;
very important town holding one or more fairs
during the year. Thus at Cambridge there
r annual fairs. By far the greater part of the
commerce of the country was carried on at
There imported articles would be taken for sale,
re merchants from a distance met for traffic.
hed a market in which goods not to be found
rdinary town market could be obtained cheaper

the fair was at all noted, a very valuable one. The owner of such a franchise exacted a toll on all that was sold, and during the continuance of the fair the merchants in town were forbidden, under penalty of a fine, to expose any goods for sale except within the fair. Weights and measures were tested, and a court—called, expressively, the court of *pis-powder*, that is the court of the dusty feet, in allusion to those who had come a long distance to the fair—was established to settle on the spot, without appeal, all disputes that might arise.

Prof. Thorold Rogers has given such an interesting account of the great fair held at Stourbridge whose reputation extended all over Europe, that we will make liberal extracts from it. It was held near Cambridge. Proclamation was made the fourth of September, and the fair proper opened the sixth and continued three weeks. The space, or fair ground as we would say, was in area about half a square mile: It was divided into streets, lined with temporary wooden buildings or booths. The streets received distinctive names, and in each some special trade was carried on. During the last week of the fair the principal business was the sale of horses. Purchasers frequented the fair from all parts of England, indeed there were but few families possessed of any wealth which did not make purchases at this fair. Near the close of the fair strings of wagons loaded with goods were dispatched from thence to all parts of the country.

As the time approached for the holding of the great fair, the eastern harbors of England were filled with ships from foreign lands. The Italian cities sent galleys laden with silks and velvets, glass and spices from the Orient. The Flemish manufacturer brought their linens, lawns and woollens from Bruges, Ghent and Ypres. The Spaniard brought iron and the Norwegian tar and pitch. The merchants' towns composing the Hanseatic league brought amber and copper. Sometimes they brought far more valuable goods, since the precious stones and silks of the East found their way very readily to the English markets through the markets of Russia.

In the twelfth century, we find another class

gild, including as it did, nearly all townsmen, contained in its ranks also those who followed special crafts or trades. We know, for instance that at New Castle the members of the gild merchant did engage in the manufacture of cloth. But various causes was at work tending to exclude the artisan or workman. In the first place human nature was much as it is now. As trade increased and the merchant class gained in wealth, pride awoke and the merchants ceased to have as friendly feeling as formerly for those who deigned to work with their own hands. So the time at length came when they felt strong enough to refuse admittance to their gild to an artisan unless he would adjure his craft, we know this to have been the case at Winchester, Marlborough and Beverly, in England. In some places butchers and dyers were excluded if they worked themselves. How to detect such workers was pointed out in the ordinance forbidding admission to those "with dirty hands" or "blue nails."

But another cause was at work. In the majority of cases the first inhabitants of towns were also landholders. So important was this felt to be that holding of land was a pre-requisite to membership in the gild merchant. But a class of landless inhabitants had arisen in all towns. Owing largely to the natural increase of the town population itself, though undoubtedly greatly helped by the influx of villans from the neighboring manors. It was an old principle that if a villan resided in a town for a year and a day he was

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOWNS.

from his lord. Now this landless class could not be regarded as citizens of the town, they were consequently denied admission to the gild, and could not take part in trade. They could only turn their attention to manual labor; and so engage in handicraft.

They could not be denied admission into the gild merchant, and every source was practically to be denied a share in the town's self-government. But as time passed on, the power and importance of artisans increased. They sought for themselves the only expedient they knew under the circumstances, and organized a gild of their own. Thus craft gilds arose which have been called the first labor-unions. There was for a long time a great deal of ill-feeling between the new gild and the older gild merchant. But they sur-

meeting the most elementary wants would be the first to make their appearance. Such, for instance, as weaving. The manufacture of cloth and clothing would be about the first one in which the increasing demands of consumers would make it worth while for men to turn their whole attention. We know that as early as 1130 there were gilds of weavers in London, Lincoln and Oxford. Their example was rapidly imitated, and we find gilds of tailors, goldsmiths, butchers, leather dressers, etc. As stated, such gilds paid an annual tax to the king for their charter or privileges. The general principles on which gilds were formed were much the same as the older gild merchant.

The executive officers were styled wardens, overseers, builders or masters. Their duty was to supervise the industry and cause offenders to be punished. They were elected annually at full assemblies of the members. In general the charters provided that no one was to work at the craft who had not been approved and admitted to the gild. They had a court in which they dealt with disputes between their members. The powers of such courts varied at different places. Those of London had usually quite extensive jurisdiction. However, in general the authority of the towns were recognized. The town authorities could of course issue ordinances binding on the gilds, but as a matter of fact, the towns were in sympathy with the gilds, and ordinances bearing upon them were

by the gild officials and enacted into ord
as a matter of course by the town councils.

Now, if we will reflect, we will see that there
several reasons why the gilds should continue to

In a certain sense they formed a counterpoise
authority of the towns. With the limited bu
less real authority over their members, their
ed privileges, they could but feel themselves as
ing distinct from the towns. It was to the ad
e of the king to put himself on their side. This
ordingly the policy of the king from the time
ard I. to favor them. Afterwards the towns
ves favored them, because, after all, the towns
onger than the gilds, and by having the va-

most flourishing era of the gilds. Nearly every trade, in large towns at least, was organized, but the apprentices and journeymen had gilds of their own. These latter gilds, however, call for nothing special in their treatment. It is well, before turning to the gradual decline of the gilds, to consider some of the general aims proposed to be attained by this form of organization. Medieval society could not forget the model from which it sprung. The theory of tribal society was that the little groups into which it was separated were joined by ties of blood, and consequently there must be brotherly feelings and actions between them. So the professed object of the gilds was to secure competent workmen, good materials and fair price. Competition was not the ruling spirit of the age. Goods failing to come up to the standard of excellence set by the gild were said to be "false" goods, and the makers of such work were punished by fines, and even by expulsion if they persisted in such conduct. Penalties were provided for all sorts of deceitful devices so well known to-day, such as putting the better wares on top of a bale than below, moistening groceries so as to make them heavier, selling second-hand furs for new, etc.

The decay of the gild system need not detain us long. It declined to give place to a new system of industry, the capitalistic system to which we will soon refer. If we will stop and reflect, we will see that during the fifteenth century a wonderful change was

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOWNS.

g forward in industrial life as well as in other
ons. The English people were becoming con
d so as to form a nation. Local customs
laws were giving place to laws national in t
at. Towns were losing their especial privile
the decay of the towns, or with the loss of t
eges, it is but natural that the gilds shoul

They had served their turn in the indus
f the nation. They had been called into b
e exigencies of the times, they had been ins
al in advancing trade, nourishing manufact
thus furthering civilization. But a new day
at hand. What that was, we will learn in
chapter.

e hope the readers begins to obtain clearer ic
e great changes that have taken place in

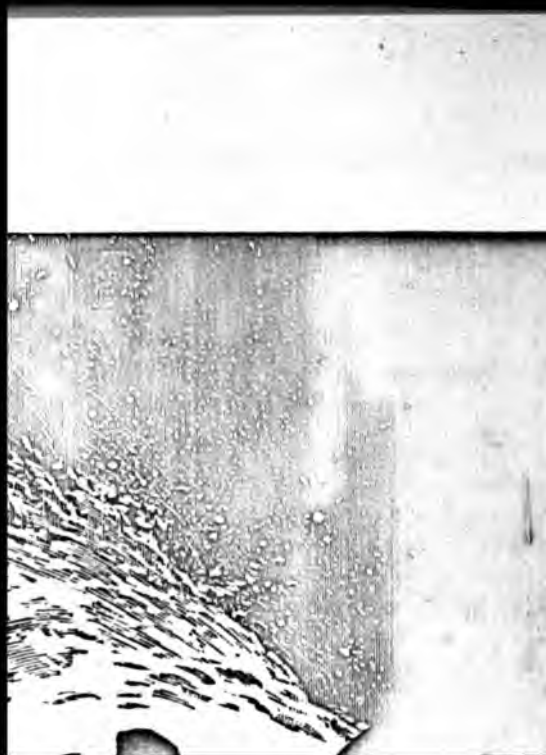
CHAPTER V.

CAPITALIST PRODUCTION.

Progress of the 15th Century—A New Industrial Age—The New Spirit of Nationality—Social Changes—The Age of Capital—Definition of Capital—The New Power of Capital—Primitive Equality as regards Capital—Capital the Master—Economic Goods—Definition of Value—Use-Value—Exchange Value—On What Exchange Value Depends—Depends on Labor—Surplus Value—Division of Surplus Value Between Capital and Labor—Labor a Commodity—The Exchange Value of Labor—Conclusion.



DARK AGES in history were rapidly passing away in the fifteenth century. This was one of the great epoch marking centuries of history. In 1453 the Turks took Constantinople, and the last trace of the Roman Empire disappeared; as is well known this gave a great impetus to the revival of learning in Europe. It also cut off the old trade routes to the East, and thus made the nations of Western Europe extremely anxious to find some new means of reaching the shores of India. Responding to this demand we find the Genoese navigator sailing on his memorable voyage which resulted in the discovery of the new world. Not alone did this result in giving a wonder-





INVENTOR OF THE BESSEMER PROCESS. . .

CAPITALIST PRODUCTION.

nulus to the advance then rapidly going forward. A few years commenced the wonderful flow of gold and silver to Europe which enormously stimulated industry and commerce. These events were followed by the discovery of the cape of Good Hope, and the opening of a direct trade to India.

Geographical discoveries was but one of the means by which progress was going forward. The moment of the almost magical results followed the invention of printing. In earlier times only the very rich could afford the luxury of a book; with the invention perfected, books could be procured cheaply. How quickly the intellect of Europe responded to this new condition is shown by the increasing number of books published.

in geographical knowledge, and augmentation of material riches had not been accompanied by a change in national feeling, the final overthrow of methods of procedure, and institutions growing out of the organization of tribal society. In short, out of such changing conditions as we have set forth, gradually emerged modern industrial life. We must understand, however, that as naturally as a shrub grows into a tree so did the new forms of national and political economy shape themselves from what had gone before.

Let us notice first the changed ideas as to the nation. Tribal society consists of groups. All rights and duties were in groups. It was therefore not surprising to find the English village community living an isolated life, having but little communication, one with another, and with the most diversified customs. Each community being in a sense a law unto itself. Similarly when towns arose each was isolated from the others. Rights and duties were owing their town and townsmen, not to the people generally. A man from another town was an alien. There were also extremely diversified customs. Similarly in the days of the guilds, a man owed loyalty to his guild. To it he looked for protection and assistance. He was not, however, particularly concerned in the welfare of other guilds. There were, of course, laws binding on the whole people, they acknowledged the rule of the king and parliament, they were taxed for the expenses of the nation, they had a certain amount of national

CAPITALIST PRODUCTION.

e; but after all the honest feelings of the p
local and sectional.

When the larger life of modern times dawned
the disappearance of the village communities
ual break down of the gild system, a more co
of nationality was formed. The mental ho
e times became wider. Men looked beyon
ed range of their own locality, town or gild.
omena was not confined to England. The
noted as an age of growth in the feeling of na

The literature of the times betrays this
. Works appeared lauding England. It s
in the sixteenth century English writers
ed the song which they still sing, of their
wealth, ships and merchandise. Before
ides of nationality, local rights of towns b

that the commodity offered was what it claimed to be, made of good materials, by skilled workmen. Now, at the present day, we assume that these ends will all be met by competition. If a manufacturer does not use good material, or if his work is not up to standard, we assume that the public will not patronize him. Wages, price of commodities and things of that nature, we leave to be settled by competition. In fact, the more we study the problem the more we see what a great change was involved in giving up the old idea of brotherhood and personal relation.

The new condition of industrial life which thus gradually supervened on the life of the past is known by various names. Inasmuch as what is called capital commenced to play an important part in production and in social life. It is appropriate to call it the Age of Capital. It is necessary to define the word capital. This word happens to be one of those of which nearly all have a fairly good idea of its meaning, but it is, after all, a hard one to define. In proof of this we need only point to the well known fact that the writers on political economy nearly all disagree in their definitions of it. More than one recent writer has amused himself by gathering the different definitions and showing how they disagree. Let us pick our way with care. A "good" is anything which is useful to man, or satisfies a want, as food, air, water. But goods may be "free," that is, supplied by nature to all, as air and water, save in exceptional circumstances,

may be economic goods, that is, goods which are usually and regularly obtained only by exertions. The proper name for this class of goods is "commodity." Economic goods are usually styled wealth. In ordinary language, however, wealth means a large quantity of goods. Now here is the difficulty: all capital is wealth; but the converse of this is not true, all wealth is not capital.

The trouble is to mark off by definition that portion of wealth which is capital. Capital is that wealth whose value is due to a demand for it as an element of production. Here is a factory full of machinery. It is valuable because its products are valuable. It is

Or we may say that capital is every product

as capital, but the majority put it to one side.

Now in deciding that the new industrial age might be called the age of capital, it is not of course meant that capital did not exist long before. It is as old as the idea of property itself. But we mean that capital began to exhibit a power before unthought of. The breaking down of medieval institutions, the various steps by which the old agricultural system was broken down, and the land became the private property of the lords, the dismissal of the band of retainers and the growth of population had created an army of laborers, and by laborers we mean those who have no means of production themselves, who have only their own labor to offer in the market. When such a state of society arose, laborers on the one side confronted by those who owned the means of production on the other—capitalists in short—capital suddenly appeared clothed with a new and terrible power. In fine, the age of capitalist production had begun.

We have necessarily hurried along. There is scarcely a paragraph but what could be enlarged into a volume. Let us emphasize the importance of clearness in thought in regard to the distinction between capital and wealth. Capital is the fruits of past labor, which, instead of being used up, have been saved and devoted to the purpose of further production. No one can properly object to capital, even anarchists do not object to it; no one gifted with ordinary understanding would; what they do object to is the distri-

CAPITALIST PRODUCTION.

and use of it. Progress has only been made by putting forth labor, saving the fruits of it, and using them as further assistance to labor. The hunter who patiently hollows out a canoe to enable himself to go to better advantage, the barbarian who insures the young of the animals he has caught, the shepherd who gathers them and thus formed the nucleus of flocks and herds, were creating capital. No, there is not be any objection to capital itself, but to its distribution and the exercise of its power.

We must also clearly understand that while capital has existed for ages, yet very properly speaking the age of Capital is but recent. Steam has altered the world. It required a peculiar arrangement of machinery and values to enable it to

fore inquire into the history and method of capitalist production.

In the English village community, even when the chief had become the athling, there was no very great diversity as regards capital. The geburs were all substantially equal. Though the cotters were below them in the scale, yet their manner of life was the same. There was no great gulf between them. What capital was then in existence was the servant of the people. The means of production were owned by the people who used them. There were no extremes of rich and poor. The lord was of course more powerful, but he also was governed by custom. Only gradually as commutation payment came into use, did the lord accumulate capital that he could turn to account later. Only as the common people lost their hold on the land did they pass into wage earners.

In the gilds also capital was the servant of the people. There was a regular road marked out from apprentices to journeymen, from journeymen to master. The tools—the capital—for plying the craft were but few and simple, and were owned by those using them. Competition did not come into play, the prices and the affairs of the craft were regulated by the gild. The apprentice lived with the master and all worked together. There was no great difference between them. The object of ambition which the youthful apprentice had in mind, was not to rise out of his craft, but to stand well in the craft, to become master or

Take our laboring men to-day, and very hope to rise to a high position. In the best the gild system the case was very different. and reasonably hope to become masters after a years work. There was no collision between and capital.

fact capital did not and could not play the role played the last century until division into had taken place. When the agricultural class their claim to the land, when the gild had down, when a mass of laboring men had come tence, then the possessors of the means of on woke to a realization of the nature of the weapon they held in their hand. And this

through with. There must in some way have been evolved this army of free laborers on the one side and holders of capital on the other. In this sense capital is a modern product, and as such socialist writers often refer to it, in their ravings against capital, they generally only mean this late form and power of capital, or, as we have expressed it, when it has ceased to be the servant and become the master.

We can say that the cleavage of society into great classes, and the accumulation of capital into the hand of one class exercised a reciprocal influence on each other. One helped forward the other. Without anticipating what can be more appropriately said in another place, is not this the verdict of history? If Gladstone speaks of the "intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power" he must also admit in the same speech that "human life is in the majority of cases but a struggle for existence." Henry George's apt illustration here strikes home: "It is as though an immense wedge were being forced, not underneath society, but through society. Those who are above the point of separation are elevated, but those who are below are crushed down." This is but the necessary logical outcome of the same course of development which clothed capital with its great power. The problem ahead of us is to find some means of overcoming this tendency. But first we must more carefully consider the problem.

e have spoken about economic goods. A commodity may be anything which satisfies some want. It may be a coat, a pair of boots, or any one of the many innumerable articles we may call to mind. The production of these goods is the purpose for which ordinary society exists. As man has gained in knowledge he not only has learned new ways of gratifying his primary wants, such as food and protection, but has come into being countless other wants, and striven to satisfy them. Now, as in the most primitive times, the chief object of man's exertion is to satisfy wants. Some wants may be of a very refined nature, and require for their gratification music, art and literature, while others may be coarse even degrading in their nature,

about a non-corporeal, something which we can not analyze, weigh or compare. Part of the trouble is due to the fact that there are really two kinds of value. It is true that some writers contend that these two kinds of value are in reality but one; still the majority of writers, from the days of Adam Smith, have recognized this division. There is first the use-value of a good. That is the ability to satisfy direct needs. A coat to keep us warm, a pair of boots to protect our feet. This is something that depends on the physical property of the commodity that we may be considering. The only way we can realize the use-value of a good is to consume it or use it up. We only realize the use-value of a pair of boots by putting them on and wearing them out.

It is evident that the use-value of a commodity is independent of the amount of labor required to produce it. A bar of steel has the same use-value whether made by the much more rapid Bessemer process or the older very long and costly way from wrought iron. Use-value has nothing to do with the price of a good. Inventions may be so perfected tomorrow that a pair of boots will cost only one-half what they do to-day. Their use-value however will remain the same. We can quickly see that the reverse of this is not true. If a good had no use-value, we could obtain no price for it. Sometime the use-value of a good is called its *utility*, sometimes the word *worth* is used.

CAPITALIST PRODUCTION.

In addition to use-value we have exchange-value. This is meant the ratio in which commodities exchange against each other in the open market. Use-value, when used alone, properly refers only to exchange-value. Suppose a man has an abundance of wheat, but no other goods. But he needs iron and clothing. Driving to market, he finds he can exchange one bushel of wheat for three bushels of iron, or ten pounds of sugar, or his whole lot of wheat for a suit of clothes. There is something common to one bushel of wheat, the three bushels of iron, and ten pounds of sugar equal in each case. This something is the exchange-value.

In all civilized lands barter disappeared long ago. Men have found a general medium of exchange, money, for which we can at all times exchange our

of exchange-value than does the statement that it is worth three bushels of corn. Money is simply a commodity which by universal consent has become the common medium of exchange.

The importance of coming to a right conclusion as to what exchange-value is and on what it depends is very great. The business world is concerned solely with the exchange-value of things, not at all with their use-value. One class of writers assert that the exchange-value of a commodity is simply the amount of labor that has been used in making it. To take the case of Bessemer steel again, when this process was invented a vast amount of labor was saved, and therefore though its use-value remained the same as before, yet its exchange-value at once decreased. The conclusions of many eminent men is that in the final analysis labor is the measure of exchange-value.

Adam Smith tells us, "what is bought with money or with goods is purchased by labor as much as what we acquire by the toil of our own body. Labor was the first price, the original purchase money that was paid for all things. It was not by gold or by silver, but by labor that all the wealth of the world was originally purchased. Labor, therefore is the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities." Ricardo speaks of "labor as being the foundation of all value and the relative quantity of labor as almost exclusively determining the relative value of commodities." And then he shows by extended "illustrations

CAPITALIST PRODUCTION.

It is not only the labor immediately applied to commodities that effects their value, but the labor also bestowed on implements, tools and buildings which such labor is assisted." J. S. Mills concludes that the value of all commodities that can be produced freely depends on the cost of production. On examining into the cost of production, he finds the element of labor is well nigh the sole element considered. He therefore concludes that "the value of commodities depends principally on the quantity of labor required for their production."

The writers are indeed very few who will admit that labor forms by far the most important element in value. It is true they may not say it in words, but that is what it amounts to. Bastiat says, "value

Probably but few would object to the statement that the exchange-value of commodities depended on the amount of labor incorporated in them, if it were not the consequence that socialist writers draw from them. Karl Marx, the leader of German Socialism, rounds out and completes Ricardo's analysis of value, by explaining more particularly in reference to labor. The labor that measures value is the average, socially necessary labor. One workman may be a very slow workman. It may take him twice as long to make a coat as his more speedy fellow-workman. Yet the coats when made will have the same value. Their value is that of the average coat, made by the average workman. Also the average workman in laboring must make use of the labor appliances of the time. Steel made by the old process, though requiring far more labor, is, after all, only of the same value as the steel made by the more recent process. This follows because it is no longer necessary to embody so much labor in the process.

The consequences that the socialists draw from the foregoing is simply this, inasmuch as all value has really been created by labor, therefore all profits should go to labor. But it has not been this way in the past and is not so now, and consequently private property is theft, to use the words of Proudhon. It is necessary then to undo this evil by abolishing property. This reasoning is false, we think, and will try and show in what respect. But undoubtedly it was such

CAPITALIST PRODUCTION. .

sions as this which run counter to the feeling that, that induced a number of writers to reconsider the theory of value. The theory propounded in this is the "cost of production theory." The value, we are told, depends on the cost of production. So far all is plain. The trouble comes when they attempt to tell us what the cost of production

is. Mr. Mill, who, as we have seen, concludes that labor is the principal element in exchange-value, concludes that the cost of production depends on labor and the profit of capital. Mr. Cairns would make the cost of cost to be labor, abstinence and risk. Mr. Cairns makes the the principal element to be pro-

In coming to this conclusion let it be understood that we are talking about the primary, the normal exchange-values of commodities, that can be indefinitely increased. All commodities cannot be so increased, such as works of art, these are not subject to the usual law of value. They are a monopoly. And even of commodities that can be indefinitely increased, as every one knows there may be deviations from this rule, for there are many ways of creating artificial monopolies. And yet we insist that the conclusions sometimes drawn from this statement, that all surplus value should be returned to the laborer, is wrong. Practically, we all feel it to be so. The majority of clear headed men will only claim that capital is obtaining too large a share of the surplus, they ask for a more even divide, that is all. They may with truth complain that the evils necessarily inhering in the present method of capitalist production, which we will soon point out, imperatively demand great changes.

The share of surplus value that goes to capital under present arrangements may be subdivided. One portion may be charged to the account of interest. There has been a vast deal of confusion on the subject of interest. The church, during the middle ages, conceived it to be her duty to urge war against taking interest; and to this day there are some who think it wrong to charge interest. Yet the practical sense of mankind generally has sanctioned taking interest, and we may be sure whenever such is the case there must

son for so doing, the problem is to discover on which it rests. Del Mar discovered, as a historical fact, interest has increased or decreased as the means of subsistence have increased. Del Mar has worked this idea out and illustrated the results which these writers reach is that interest comes from the reproductive forces of nature; therefore the result of a natural law, and is very just.

Every reward is due to the man or men who are instrumental for the energy, ability and tact with which business is conducted. Strictly speaking, the services may be classed as labor. And yet it is on a different plane. Talent in organiz-

reasons why capital should have its share of the value so created. This conclusion is the one sustained by the practical common sense of the world generally. It is against the whole system that objections can be raised. The laboring world does not object to the division of profits with capital in itself, but they do object to the unfair division now employed. But we shall find as we continue on our way, that the trouble lies deeper than the mere division of profit. The whole system of capitalist production—the laborers forming one class, the owners of the instruments of production another class—is doomed. If it had any period of usefulness—and he is a very superficial reader of history who will not admit this—that period is now past, and the most earnest scholars in this country and abroad think that a change must come soon. And in this question all are interested. Right here lies hidden the secret of hard times, as well as much of pauperism and crime. Our agriculturalist, our professional men, merchants and manufacturers, all are concerned, because here is the explanation of much of the difficulties under which our civilization is struggling.

This somewhat long digression into the nature of value was necessary if we would understand the nature of capitalist production. For let us see how labor goes to work to create value. The work must be some useful work. It must be devoted to making some object that will satisfy human wants. If a man



The Floating Palace Of The West



LUXURY FOR THE RICH—REDUCTION OF WAGES FOR THE POOR

ever so hard rolling stones up a hill, to let them
own again, he creates no value. The work he
expended has not been "socially necessary work."
must so apply his labor as to make something
has a use-value. Suppose he decides to make

He buys cloth, thread and buttons. Each
these articles as they are when he buys them,
commodity, and possesses both use-value and ex-
change-value; he proposes to so combine them by his
labor to form a new commodity. The use-value of
the various articles disappear, the cloth is no longer
as cloth, nor the thread as thread, nor the but-
tons. A new article, a coat, has made its
appearance. It has a new use-value, something en-
tirely independent of the use-values of its constituents.

workmen depending on wages for their labor had made its appearance. In capitalist production capital buys the raw material, and buys the labor and realizes the use-value of these commodities—sets the labor to work on the raw products—and thus manufactures new commodities. Here as before what passes into the value (exchange-value) of the new commodity is simply the value (exchange-value) of the constituents, capital itself has not labored as the workman did in the former illustration, so it has added no new value.

Probably there is no dispute that labor is now a commodity. Do we not talk about it being regulated by supply and demand, determined by competition and all that? Does it not rise and fall in the market like other commodities? Where, for any cause, there is a great demand for it, but workmen are scarce, there wages will be high. The converse of this rule is equally clear. In fact, we might recast our definition of capital, and say that capital did not exist before labor became a commodity. The present age might be known as the Age of Wagedom, or the age in which labor is a commodity. It was not a commodity in the earlier ages of the village community. It was not to a great extent a commodity in the guild system, only as it gradually changed its nature and became a commodity did capital become master.

Being a commodity it has its use-value and its exchange-value, like any other commodity. Its use-

CAPITALIST PRODUCTION.

...e may be realized in innumerable ways, it n
...i in holding a plow, in setting type or perfo
...e mechanical work. One peculiarity of thi
...ity is that most commodities have to be pa
...re they are consumed, but in the case of lab
...value is realized 'before it is paid for. As
...," the use-value of the labor power is adv
...e capitalist, the laborer allows the buyer to
...e it before he receives payment of the pric
...ywhere gives credit to the capitalist." It fol
...that the older idea that wages were drawn
...al is a mistake. Henry George has elabo
...idea to a great extent.

The exchange-value of labor considered

Ricardo long ago wrote as follows: "Labor, like all other things which are purchased and sold, and which may be increased or diminished in quantity, has its natural and its market price. The natural price of labor is that price which is necessary to enable the laborers, one with another, to subsist and to perpetuate their race without either increase or diminution. . . . However much the market price of labor may deviate from its natural price, it has like commodities a tendency to conform to it." We would find by examining the writings of authors on this subject that though many of them do not accept this theory of value, yet can not deny the fact that wages do tend to a limit that will simply afford a living. Turgot, even earlier than Ricardo, left on record his conviction that "in every kind of labor it must therefore result that the wages of the laborer are limited to the exact amount to keep him alive." Mill, in England, Roscher, in Germany, acquiesce in this statement. Prof. Ely, of this country, in a very recent work says: "There is so overwhelming an array of facts gathered from widely separated countries and from periods so distant from one another, which confirm this conclusion that it is difficult to resist it." We will not discuss this law further at this particular place, though we are by no means through with it. We will only add that enough has been already stated to condemn the present system. But let us continue on our way.

Although it is probably not necessary, let us say for all that our objections are raised against the system, not at all against individuals. The individual capitalist, no more than the individual workman is to be blamed, it is the system itself. So long as labor is a commodity, so long will the iron law of wages (as Marx calls it) continue in force. But to continue. Capital buys the raw material and furnishes the machinery, the "plant." It then buys the labor, agreeing to pay for it its market price, its exchange-value, that is to say, what will support the labor-machine, the worker, according to his customary scale of living. The laborer goes to work, exerting his labor power in manipulating the machinery of the plant, consum-

1860, 1870 and 1880. It is estimated that the depreciation of machinery, implements and buildings is ten per cent of the total capital employed. This is probably too large since but a part of the capital is invested in machinery where most of the depreciation occurs. The fact is, Gronlund, who made this same calculation, is willing to allow but five per cent for depreciation. We will say in explanation of the table that the results for 1870 have been reduced to a gold basis for the purpose of comparison with other years. As to the number of workmen. The census of 1850 and 1860 did not take notice of the employment of children under the age of sixteen. This might make a slight difference in the result for those years.

	1850	1860	1870	1880
Value created by each laborer in	\$428.57	\$574.46	\$595.32	\$619.82
Wages paid each laborer in	\$247.12	\$288.94	\$301.34	\$346.96
Amt. absorbed by capital for each laborer in	\$181.45	\$285.52	\$293.98	\$272.86

We are not insensible of the fact that the above table shows an improvement, as far as the laborer is concerned, for the year 1880 as compared with 1870. The result was probably owing to better organization on the part of labor. If so it is a hopeful indication of what may yet be accomplished.

What we have thus far had to say makes plain to us the nature of capital, of value, how it was that when

When labor became a commodity, capital assumed an importance hitherto undreamed of, and became the master of the people. We have glanced at the workings of the law of wages, and surely, unless we committed some glaring oversight, here alone is cause sufficient for the discontent and industrial troubles we are around us. We already see that our laboring population is doomed to a life of toil for what—a bare subsistence. And unless we are greatly mistaken, something very like this law of wages is at work in the case of the agriculturalist also. Should such prove to be the case, then we need search no further. All other considerations sink to insignificance besides the pressing necessity of making at once most radical changes in

CHAPTER VI.

AGRICULTURE. •

Present Condition of the United States—The Importance of Agriculture—The Welfare of the Farmers—What is Property—Increased Productiveness of Land—The Nature of the Farmers' Work—The Disadvantages of the Farmers' Work—The Exchange-Value of his Products—His Work Compared with that of Manual Labor—Table of Results—Wages or Salary—Land and Population—Increase in Size of Farms—The Bonanza Farms—Small Farms cannot compete with large ones—Farmers' Lot not improved by Improved Machinery—The Standard of Comfort—Coming Changes in the Industrial System—Conclusion.



OUR remarks on labor, we have not as yet referred especially to our own country. We wanted to speak of labor generally. As every one knows, the United States is as yet fortunately situated in regard to land, population and newness of country, and the laws of labor may not apply quite as strictly in this country. As we have seen, the capitalist age was ushered in by the discovery of America. The very fact that here and in Australia were vast tracts of fertile land open to immigration, thus affording an outlet to population that found life becoming intolerable under the old system,





AGRICULTURE—THE PLEASANT SIDE.

ed the evils of the new order. But time has
on, there is no longer any considerable extent
inviting the immigrant, and so every year we
selves drawing nearer and nearer to the time
we must seriously consider what changes we
roduce into present industrial life.

we have stated, the agricultural stage marks
important age in the history of civilization. It
ays remained the most important branch of in-

In the final analysis land is the reservoir from
by means of labor, all capital is drawn. A vast
of panegyrics have been written on agriculture
farmer. In the main there is just ground for
aise. The yeomanry of a country as justly re-

the occupation of the farmer, it is evident that the welfare of such a numerous class of citizens is a matter that vitally concerns the country. We can not wonder if they propose to have a voice in legislative matters. They are fully as patriotic as any class of citizens, and in case of national difficulty they would be one of the very first to devote their lives and money to the protection of national honor. It is not necessary to say that they are wise above any other class of citizens. They claim to be up to the standard, and are very earnest in proposing to exercise a voice in legislation. But at present we want to consider simply the general nature of agriculture and the rewards which a hard working farmer ought to expect to reap from his exertions.

Seventy-four per cent. of the farms in this country are worked by their owners. There are some writers who think that private property in land ought to be abolished. It is true, as a very slight reading of history shows, that private property in land was a comparatively late development. It is further true that land is, in many respects, of such a nature that it may be put to one side as forming a class by itself amongst all those goods which may be made the subject of ownership. Of course, we all know that land is not created by labor, consequently those who follow Locke in his ideas as to the origin of property rights, in other words, those who think that labor gives the sole right to ownership in anything, conclude that property in

wrong. It is but another instance of reasoning about the natural rights of men.

It has been too often insisted on, that all of our social institutions are but concessions which society has made, which a higher civilization may recall at will.

A time came in the advancing civilization when it seemed for the best purpose of society to set aside the claim of private ownership in land. Whether the right, or wrong, or naturalness of this statement concerned, it is exactly of the same character as any other concession in anything else. True, it came late in the history of the world, and it may be that a higher civilization will come to recall it, leaving other rights untouched. A good deal of misconception arises as to what

haste very slowly, and the time is probably far in the future before we will decide to abolish private property in land. When we look at the matter in this light we can see no objection to property in land. There are no doubt excellent reasons why private ownership of land is beneficial. And there the whole matter rests. Let once conditions so change that reason of public policy demand that the state should take such ownership under its own control and no one can object. But let us be sure we are right before we go ahead.

Land is provided by nature, but not in unlimited quantities like the air we breathe. Labor and capital can be indefinitely increased, but we can only hope to increase the productiveness of land. If by any means we can make one acre of land do the work of two acres, then we have in effect doubled the supply of land. Advancing civilization has accomplished some such a result as this in the past. We may hope for equally as great results in the future. Agriculture is an art, and improvements have taken place in it the same as in every art. Thus the introduction of turnips into England near the close of the last century made almost a revolution in agriculture. It is not necessary to mention a great number of like changes. As there is to-day a wonderful difference in farmers—one known as a good farmer, another as a poor one—so there is a great difference in the systems of farming. Better ideas as to the importance of draining, of the value and importance of fertilizers,

d breed of stock, all this wonderfully in-
productiveness of land. In a similar way
rease the productiveness of land by dimin-
labor necessary to cultivate it, that is by
plements. Compare the self-binder with
adle.

altogether similar way the effect of im-
sportation is virtually to increase the sup-
able land. Improved railroads have in-
l the wheat fields of Manitoba thousands
arer the market. The Suez canal made
gerous competitor for American wheat in
our own country the improved means of
on has greatly reduced the value of land
al and Eastern States, because by lessen-
nse of moving the grain from the West

vents the increase of population from having the effect that economists figure out for it.

Now having considered briefly the nature of private property in land, let us consider the nature of the farmer's work. As land is the source from whence all value is drawn, so from the ranks of agricultural workers come the leading men of this and other countries. To win success in the world, health and strength are demanded; a good constitution is a better capital than money. We take the following account from a recent work devoted to the farmers of our land: "Natural surroundings beget character. The farmer is the servant of the seasons. He waits upon the motions of nature. In the spring he sows and plants, and awaits the slow, calm never hurried unfolding of the year, to know if he may reap and gather. And slowly like the unfolding of plant-life in spring, there is developed in him a calm patience which stands unshaken and tranquil even when facing the ruin made by wind, or hail, or flood. This patience is the basis of character and the promise of endurance and continuance. The fields, the hills, the woods, and the illimitable heavens are the farmers' constant companions. They steal in upon him and impress him until unconsciously his character takes on a rugged simplicity. Nature continually impresses him with the stability of her purpose, and yet she keeps his eyes and ears ever on the alert with new beauties of landscape and voices from field and grove.

reads the signs of the heavens to know what weather will be ; and so his perceptive faculties are trained to be ever on the alert. The diversity of crops, the changes of weather, the diversity of crops, the changes of weather, the farmer into a man of resources and experience. The continual emergencies occurring upon the farm train the fingers to skill and the brain to action. Of what is of equal importance to the farmer, the pure air bestows upon the farmer bodily vigor and health. The elixir of life is in the fresh air of the morning, and the fierce heat of the noonday sun. It was thence the earth received all the powers and energies found in her great veins of coal, and it is nature that pours her energies into the farmer. She dresses him in all kinds of weather. She tans his skin with the glow of health. She gives him a deep

forgets all in his devotion to business. There are some farmers who make of life one dreary round of toil, and this too when not compelled, thereto, by the stern pressure of necessity. Perhaps it would be just to say that farming, rightly conducted, is all the foregoing account makes of it, and charge the evils which we all see, to a wrong system. For it seems, to take the author from whom we have just quoted, that in spite of the many advantages of the farmer's lot, which ought to doubly equip him to fight life's battles, something is wrong.

"In New England farms are standing deserted which are in sight and sound of the great factories, and this depopulation has gone on until the state authorities are busy with schemes of colonization by importation of poor people from Northern Europe. In the Middle States profits in farming are among the lost arts and lands and rents have depreciated greatly. In the Southern States land values are in the midst of the "slough of despond," and the condition of the farming classes hopeless, were it not for the fact and spirit of organization which now moves them as one man. In the Western States farm profits are an uncertain and often minus quantity and the mortgaged indebtedness hangs a pall over every rainbow of promise. The farmers of the Eastern and Middle States, are told that they are being ruined by the competition of the Western living on cheap lands; the farmers of the South are told that their poverty is due

AGRICULTURE.

the devastation of the war and the lack of capital. Western farmers are told that the trouble is over-production. In England the agricultural depression is as great as in America. In other European States as great, except perhaps in France." This picture is not a bit over-drawn. There is no doubt that farmers work hard during the greater part of the year, and yet, unless they own their land free from incumbrances, they can but barely make a living. The general impression is that the mortgage burden on farms is gradually increasing. What is the reason for all this? The answers to this question are as various as the people to whom they are addressed. Some find the answer in our system

and shoes, sugar and flour. Then he also needs money to carry on his farm. He needs, in most cases, to hire some help, whose services must be paid in money. He requires a large number of implements, plows, cultivators, reapers and mowers. These wear out fast and must be replaced from time to time. He must pay taxes the same as other citizens, and often an undue share of the same. It is not extravagant for him to have in his house, books, papers and other articles of comfort and luxury. He must have horses and stock. And then, in an unfortunately large number of cases, there is the interest on the mortgage. So he, too, is dependent on the exchange-value of his products.

The real exchange-value of his products depends, as in the case of all commodities, on the work incorporated in them. In the case of the factory workman, we have seen that the wages for which he works constitutes only a part of the value he creates, the rest being absorbed by capital. The farmer does not work for wages. He puts in long hours of hard work, he, too, creates in reality much more value than is required to support him in the simple style in which he lives. Theoretically, he should be prosperous. In fact, he is not. The price, or money, which his produce brings, must be below their real value.

A few figures will help us to realize this more plainly. The census of 1880 gives us the "estimated value of all farm products sold, consumed or on hand

year 1879." But the figures as given are probably too low. In the first place, the average agriculturist would not return at anywhere near its value the produce used for the support of himself and family. This applies to garden truck, vegetables, fruits, eggs, poultry and other meat, as well as hay and grain consumed by his stock. Now all that part of the value created by his work, and it certainly be much underestimated, even though the census enumerators made especial inquiries on that matter. Suppose we allow twenty per cent for depreciation. By comparing the two census years of 1870 and 1880 for the value of live stock, we can find the yearly increase in value of the same. Ten per

we must there reduce the figures to a gold basis. We must also make allowance for "improvements" made on the farms, since the figures as reported include that item in the value of farm products for the year. Now as to the results obtained, we are very sensible of many possible errors. Yet the principle on which we proceed is right. As far as we know, it is the first attempt to draw a parallel between the value created by the average agricultural worker and the wages of an average workman.

	1870	1880
Value created by the average agricultural worker in	\$347.29	\$339.73
Wages of the average workman in	\$301.34	\$346.96

It is evident from the above that the agricultural workman was more prosperous in the year 1870 than in 1880. We believe this is the result of experience, though, if values of everything declined in proportion, as they largely did, he was, relatively, fully as well off. Labor in general improved its condition in the period in question, but agricultural labor did not. Now the general agreement of these figures betrays the workings of a common law. It is evident that, in the case of the farmer as well as the laborer, the amount received from the fruits of his labor tend to settle about the point which will simply afford him a living.

We do not think these figures can be disputed.

course, there are exceptional seasons, and exceptional periods of years. During our war all sorts of produce sold high. A failure of crops may happen in one part of our country or in Europe, those persons having fair crops will then profit. But take in all, we have no doubt of the truth of the conclusion. And is not this a matter of common experience? The average workman must pay out of the rent he receives as wages about eighteen per cent in the shape of rent, for a house to live in. If he owns some he may save a little something. In the same way if a farmer owns his farm and is out of debt, he can gather around him many comforts and amass

figures will not improve. The explanation seems to us very simple. Labor is a commodity. It is paid only its exchange value, only what will create it. Farm labor, at least as ordinarily conducted, is not of a sufficiently high grade to be called skilled labor, though, of course, there are brilliant exceptions. How can it then expect any greater return than labor in general? Every year an army of young men enter, some on a life of labor, working for others on a salary, others on a life devoted to agricultural pursuits. Is it not evident that one must hold out about the same inducements as the other? And is not such a result sure to follow as long as labor is bought and sold in the market like any other commodity? In fact, we may regard the prices for farm produce as a salary or the wages paid by the world at large to the farmer.

Strange as this last statement may sound, still it is in a very real sense of the word a true statement. It may be objected that if so we might as well call the fees of professional men—doctors and lawyers—their salary or wages. Well they are their wages, but the element of personal skill and experience here plays so important a part that the two classes of services are not at all on the same plane. Wheat raised by a young and inexperienced farmer serves to make bread just as well as though raised by a veteran. The result in the case of a broken leg might be altogether different whether it were treated by an experienced hand or not. You can not estimate the value of per-

experience and technical skill in such cases. Or in the case of legal difficulty, your entire fortune may be at stake. You want an experienced man, but if you are buying potatoes all you are concerned with is whether the potatoes are good.

It has been asserted that wages depend largely on the price of provisions; if they are high the workman necessarily having to receive a larger sum as wages in order to support himself. This statement is true, and yet it occurs to us that generally speaking, when the prices of provisions and wages of laborers rise together, both are swayed by the power of the market. The agriculturalist receives for his produce what the market will afford him a living, the workman receives

market would fall. Taking the civilized world together, owing to improved methods of transport, there is no particular trouble in this matter. It is quite besides the question to say that vast numbers of people go hungry, and that a great deal more could be consumed. It simply shows with startling clearness that for some reason they can not get the mere pittance to enable them to buy wheat, for instance, even at prices which will only give the agriculturalist a living. Not only have we vast amounts of land as yet not utilized, but no doubt our farms could easily be made to produce much more, if there were only a market for the produce.

But supposing we look ahead when instead of a population of sixty-five millions we shall be a nation of say one hundred and fifty million. As the value of land rises, the rent of the land will increase. The worker may raise produce which will bring him in more value, but he will have to pay that increased value away in increased rents. A constantly decreasing number of farmers will work their own land, and in this connection it is well to remember that already twenty-six per cent. of all the farms in the United States are worked by tenant farmers. They will pass into the ranks of landlords. We can see no escape from the conclusion that as quick as such a result is brought about capital will begin to concern itself more and more with land, and then the so-called yeomanry, or small proprietors, will as surely pass away in this

AGRICULTURE.

ry as they did in England. Indeed, we thin
 ven now entering on such a stage of dev
 in this country. By referring to the cens
 the following table can be worked out in re
 area of farms in the two census years of
 870.

	1870.	1880.
		Per C Dec
under 3 acres	6875	4352
from 3 to 10 acres	172021	134889
" 10 to 20 "	244607	254749
" 20 to 30 "	847614	781547
		Per C Inc
from 50 to 100 acres	754221	1032810
" 100 to 300 "	565054	1695983 2
" 500 to 1000 "	15875	75072 2

and the results only show what can be done. To fully understand what will become of our agricultural interests when once capital makes up its mind to engage in the work, we need only to refer to the Bonanza farms of the Northwest. We take the liberty of drawing the following account from a description of the immense wheat farms near Casselton, North Dakota. To emphasize the distinction the author draws a comparison between farming in olden times and the present day. As this is quite in line with our present inquiry, let us see what he says: "Before agricultural machinery had come into general use, and before the age of railroads, the farms of our fathers would average in size but little more than one hundred acres with an amount of plow land equalling about fifty acres each. Very rarely did they exceed double that amount. On every such farm was there a family home, with all the ties, endearments and advantages that the word home conveys to our mind. They furnished not alone homes, but employment, abundance and comfort for a family of at least a dozen persons. Go through New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio and see the great number of such places, all of them formerly family homesteads, lying within sight and hailing distance of each other. From half a dozen to a hundred may be seen from almost any elevated point.

Now mark the change that has already taken place, and is fast obtaining in all our new and great

ural regions. Under the power of machinery vital the farms have grown from the size of one acre, as formerly, to one thousand acres, to ten thousand acres, to one hundred thousand acres, to five hundred thousand acres, or nearly eight hundred square miles and more, with not one home in their vast areas ; with no one surrounding a homestead with all that made the old home a home. Yet these huge tracts are being developed, cultivated and made to yield as was no farm in the time of our fathers. Now machinery and a few score or a few hundred hirelings and animals to run and operate the machines, do the work under the eye of the farmer. The hirelings—the human animals—are

ning up to the size of eight hundred or more square miles—areas that would give fifty acres of plowland to more than a thousand families, and to our fathers would have furnished home, ample employment and comfort to more than ten thousand people—are now without even one home, and furnish but transient and uncertain employment to a few hundreds.

The owners of these large tracts have bonanzas, yielding great profits, not one dollar of which is expended in beautifying and permanently improving their vast estates beyond that necessary for the care of the stock and tools, nor in sustaining a permanent population. Their homes, their pleasures, their family ties are not upon their farms. Their wealth is flaunted in the gaities and dissipations, or expended in building and developing some distant city or country. But the owner and cultivator of the small farm in the neighborhood, upon which he has planted his root-tree, and around which are gathered all his hopes and ambitions, finds it impossible to pay his taxes, clothe and educate, and find any comfort for his wife and little ones. The case of the small farmer is steadily growing from worse to worse. The two can not exist together; the small farmer can not successfully compete with his gigantic neighbor under present conditions. He will inevitably be swallowed up. It is at best but a question of time."

We do not see how these statements can possibly be disputed. The small farmer can no more com-

h these immense capitalized farms than the
al shoe-maker can compete with a shoe factory.
read from history how it was that before cap-
med control of the manufacturing industries
and, there was a hand loom or a spinning
a each household, and thus the income of the
as increased. This was all changed when
egan its work and the great factories furnish-
for hundreds of men were built. Then the
al manufacturer—the real meaning of the
one who works with his own hand—could no
ompete with the factory and so passed out of
e. Can we not see that our agricultural in-
re on the threshold of such a stage of de-

AGRICULTURE.

only subsistence wages, then we may it, agricultural returns will sink to the And questioning the future, we can see on for hoping this will even be better as t mass of people depending on agricul- ed. As land rises in value, so will rent -six per cent of the farms in the United ked by renters now, or rather, were so lo, we may look for this number to e. We may look for capital to become l in agricultural pursuits than previously. took some centuries for their system of to come into vogue. In this country, ie change will be effected much more ct, within the last few years we have strides in bringing about in our country things similar to that already existing r some centuries of slow change: ot yet ready to consider remedies, but lp reverting to some, It is, probably, i far as the average agriculturalist is ondition has not been improved by im- ery. Does he make any better living s than he did with hand-cradles? Here, of manual labor, it is not the one who ps the profit of machinery. Does it cost of exchange? If you could really all the middle-men, could you secure om the railroads, and transport be ob-

ch less figures than at present, under
ns is it clear that relief would be imme-
ing? On the other hand, is it not clear
of labor compensation would still hold
e of produce fall, so that the return for
d be—as before—simply a living. Un-
ade some mistake, agricultural interests,
sts of labor, rest down on a deeper prin-
n questions as these.

said that granting the truth of what is
eal objections can be raised to a system
nen to obtain a living. If the rewards
her agricultural or otherwise, really re-
iving, why that is all that he can rea-

important, and even then after a long struggle, can become a part of the standard of comfort. And in the meantime—and here is a stern, cruel fact confronting us—such is the very nature of industrial progress that at present an increasingly large proportion of the whole army of laborers, is gradually sinking to a lower social level. They may still earn a living, but it will be on a lower level. If agriculturalists now earn a comparatively good living, they will have to be content with a lower level when there are nothing but tenant farmers, even though the standard of the tenant farmers should be raised above its present level. If laborers are not satisfied now, what will their lot be when another century of industrial progress has passed? It makes no difference if their living, as a whole, be higher than it is now, still, it will be so far behind what it ought to be, read in the light of probable advance of the time, that they will rightfully be dissatisfied. If the advance of civilization is such that the more favored classes have advanced some one hundred degrees on the scale, but workmen only say twenty degrees, then relatively they will be worse off.

But we anticipate that long before another century shall have passed by, very great changes will have been introduced into the present industrial system, by which the present dangers at least will be avoided. One evidence of this is that the laboring world—and in that expression we of course include agricultural

s—Is now wide awake to the dangers that con-
. The people are reading, thinking, talking, or-
g and propose to act. And in this we are
they will have the sympathy of the majority of
g men, a people can never prosper unless
ses share in the prosperity. A civilization that
es to advance one class at the expense of an-
ught to be doomed. Let us never make the
: of supposing that "whatever is is right," at
industrial affairs. He would be a bold prophet
who would venture to predict what the future
store for us, many pet theories will probable be
ed, but some sort of a change is impending.
survey of history strengthens this conclusion,
see that civilization has frequently introduced
eat changes To one who understands the

the pressure of present difficulties seem too great to bear, take courage :

"Jocund day

Stands tiptoe on the misty mountain tops."

No one in his senses thinks that a time will ever come when it will not be necessary to labor, for that is, and ever will be, the price of human good. It will ever be necessary to "run with patience the race set before us," but we do think mankind will devise some plan, with justice to all, by which rewards will be more in proportion to the work done.

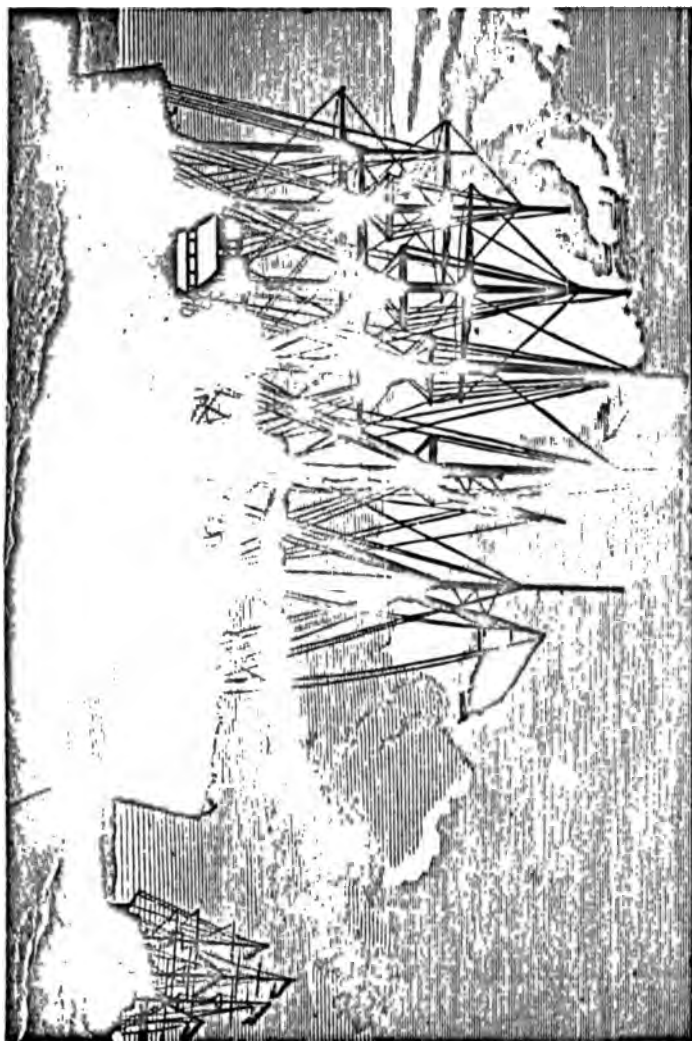




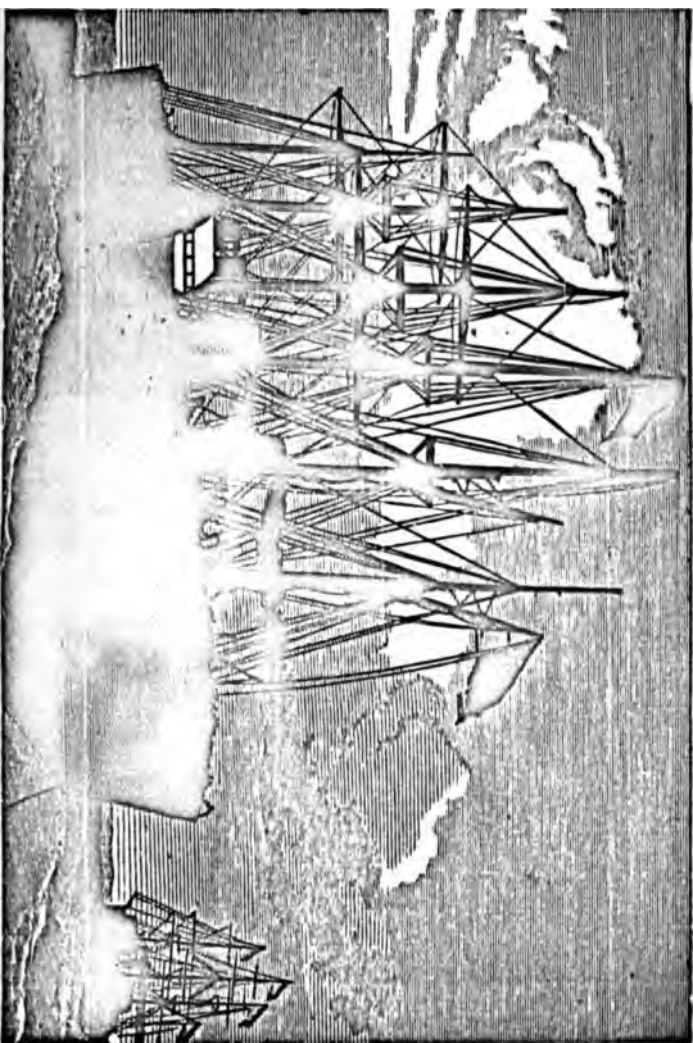


1900

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY







CHAPTER VII

TENDENCY OF CAPITALISM

Slow Growth of Social Institutions—
Life—Introduction of our present System—
ent System—In what Respect an Advance
Evils of the Same—The Principles on which
to make Profit—Necessity of getting Cheap
Again—Wages effected by the Necessities of
a Perishable Commodity—Capitalist Production
Situation Summed Up—Capitalist Production
its Fruits—The Story of Spring Valley—
Dooming the Town—The Lock-out—The Revolution
dicted—The Warning to be



DISCUSSING the nature
of our present industrial
must consider that
evolution or growth
advancing civilization
many respects, represent an
over previous conditions.

and develop with the growth of the system itself, until, finally, they reach a stage in which the evils actually outweigh the good, and so a change is imperatively demanded by civilization in general. No one doubts, for instance, that settled agricultural life represents an advance over previous nomadic life. It is difficult to see how anything worthy the name of civilization could have come into being unless men had adopted a settled mode of life.

The wants of nomads are few and simple, their very manner of life prevents them from forming new wants and trying to realize the same. In many ways a settled life changes all this. The people are no longer contented with rude hovels to live in, they begin to improve them in many ways. They put in a floor, they build chimneys, finally using glass for windows. They partition them off into rooms, they invent better furniture. Better clothing, better food are the accompaniments of changed habitations. All this tends to develop healthier bodies and stronger minds, arts and science are cultivated; and so in all directions progress goes forward. But have we not seen the reverse side of this picture? Do we not know that in nearly every case the free agricultural workers sank into a state of villanage?

According we traced the efforts made by the mass of the people to raise themselves, to shake off the feudal lord, we traced the gradual growth of the towns. The people of the towns, as they freed them-

from the restraints of the feudal lord, not knowing any other form of organization, adopted the guild system, each trade organized as a gens apart by itself. A distinct advance was thus made. The evils of the system, or the one that comes most prominently to mind, was that it tended to repress individual energy. Wherever a trade was fully organized, a plain road marked out for all to follow, we can at once see that the tendency would be to make advance difficult. While the merchants of a town were thus feeling their way to a new system, the agricultural laborers had been breaking up the system of villanage. Advances certainly tend in the direction most ardently desired by the respective classes of citizens, rural and urban. The mass of the rural population desired freedom from the vexatious incidents of villanage, this

lanage would engraft itself on the free village community. We must now consider with more care, both the good and bad side of our present system. It is surely not necessary to declare that after all, the present system is an advance upon the slavery of serfdom. Liberty is worth not only fighting for, but suffering for. The workman can, as a rule, choose his own work and his own employer. In cases, of course, stern necessity compels him to take the very first thing that is offered. In this country, and at the present time, it is certainly true that a workman can rise in the scale. The trouble is that such a state of affairs tend every year to become more difficult. Still, as a recent writer remarks, "the history of the conversion of the serf into the wage receiver is a proud chapter in the history of civilization."

There is farther, no question that our modern system has enormously developed individual enterprise. Valuable prizes were to be obtained by shrewd, far-seeing men in opening up new avenues of trade. It stimulated inventive industry to the utmost. The wonderful inventions of the past century are tributes to the worth of this system. Railroads, steam-ships and the telegraph system sprang into being, because men were bent on wresting from nature some secret that would enable them to amass wealth and consequent power. The marvelously rapid advance of civilization during the last two hundred years could scarcely have been possible under the older systems.

to say all this and still declare that the evils are almost unbearable. In view of the splendid ones made, we could have nothing to say, did we believe that in some way the advantages of the system may be retained without, at the same time retaining its evil features.

The last two centuries have seen a wonderful expansion of Aryan people of Europe. They have colonized the new world, many of the islands of the Pacific and the continent of Australia. At various times in the world's history we can detect the movement of masses of people, but this last period has been on a larger scale than ever before. Every year an immense number of emigrants arrive on our shores larger than the armies of the invaders that made the empires of the World tremble in the first few centuries

the group to the individual. With every advance in civilization we have drawn nearer to the individual and individual rights, until the distinguishing mark of our present age is its individuality. Surely we seem to have now reached the culmination of progress in this direction, why look for any further change? This very argument is put forward by men who are conversant with the growth of civilization. Still, we conceive that while in one direction rights and duties have come to be more and more a matter of individuals, yet in another direction they have been gradually widening. In early times a man of another tribe, of another village or town even, had no rights at all in a strange community. Now in this direction the sphere of rights and duties has been widening. While holding fast to the idea of individuality why should we not come to see that the whole community, state or nation forms a new social unit in which the welfare of each is intimately connected with the welfare of all?

But if the good qualities are many, the evils are certainly very great also. We have already had to consider the mere fact that labor with us is simply a commodity, and as such is entitled to just what will produce it or in short a living. The end of human existence is human happiness. What civilization should especially concern itself with, therefore, is the greatest possible good for all. It must be evident that such a state of society as we have discussed tends inevitably to the greatest good of the few, not

But while it is easy thus to condemn off-hand general principles, it is necessary for us to go more in detail. So let us take up some of the principles and examine them more carefully.

People are not as a rule in business for pleasure. They may have engaged in it for so long a time that it has become second nature to them, and they work for the mere sake of working; we may be very sure, however, that they would not be thus engaged unless they derive enjoyment in so doing, and there would certainly be no enjoyment unless the business was prosperous.

So it finally comes around to the same conclusion which is undoubtedly true in the majority of cases: people are in business to make money. Drop all references to individuals we can say that capital is not a thing, but a power.

This is in the nature of an axiom. It needs only to be stated to be seen to be true. Capital is in business to make profit. The socialist say that capital is a sponge to soak up surplus value. It is impelled by the nature of things to force the wages down to as low a rate as possible. You may call it selfishness, cold business calculation, or any name you prefer, but the simple fact is, as long as human nature is what it is, capital is bound to do all it can to make wages cheap. So we see on reflection that not only is labor bound to sink to subsistence wages on general principles, so to speak, but the very life of capital depends on depressing it to that level.

Capital is not at all concerned in the welfare of its employes. That is a very cold-blooded expression to make, and yet how true it is. We are talking about their welfare as far as it depends on wages. A great corporation may indeed provide reading rooms, free lectures, gymnasiums, even model tenement houses, but at the same time wages sink to the lowest possible level. Sometimes public opinion is so strongly on the side of the laborers that the company raise wages, but those are only exceptional cases. We can see that the system of production, capital on one side, hungry workmen on the other, actually forces capital to take this position. Supposing a wealthy philanthropist concludes to start up a rolling-mill which will give employment to a thousand hands. No matter how willing he may be to give wages

that any other employer may give, yet he
do so and remain in business. As long as
wages are as it is he must buy his material as
the average rolling-mill manufacturers, or he
cannot compete. It would be just as reasonable for
him to pay twice as much for the iron ore as it was
to give his laborers more than the average

is but a restatement with very slight
of Ricardo's law of wages. What we be-
lieved to be true simply from reasoning about
wages in general, we now see to be true from the very
fact that capital engages in business simply to make
money and it is therefore its interest to force
wages down to the lowest limit. There is in this no
room for outcry against hard-hearted capitalists.

begins to see that somehow or other wages ought to bear a proportion to the total amount of profit. This is seen in various schemes of profit sharing, of co-operation, etc. These various schemes are signs that society as a whole is casting about for some as yet undecided way to get rid of wages. It is coming, and we do not think there will be any very stormy times either. Expanding civilization will take on a higher form, that is all.

Not only is it in the very nature of value that wages should hover about the level of mere living wages, not only is it for the interest of capital to force them down, but—as if all the advantages in this unequal fight were on the side of capital—it has at least heretofore been almost wholly in the power of capital to enforce its demands. This comes about from the peculiar nature of labor considered as a commodity. Let us illustrate this point. Suppose we were to enter a well stocked store, the proprietor of which was prosperous. On the shelves and in the dressers, or in the various rooms, are to be found all sorts of commodities, from a paper of pins to a suit of clothes, from a smoked herring to a barrel of sugar, from a boot-jack to a chamber set. No matter if the weather be stormy and we chance to be the only customer in the store, we will quickly discover that every article has a reserve price, and we must either pay the price or go without the goods. It is no use to remind him that there is no competition, no

mand for his goods, he is under no pressure
l your efforts to beat him down are vain.
nths later circumstances may have changed
roprietor. He may be extremely anxious
of his stock. He is ready to offer you bar-
. If he can not get his price he may ac-
you have to offer. Perhaps a little later
may witness still a third phase of the busi-
wishes absolutely to retire from business.
neer is called in and things go for what
ring. It may be only a fraction of what he
e accepted a few months previously. Here
ee that the prices of commodities may de-
e necessities of those offering them for sale.
nore example must be referred to. In all
towns are men who make a specialty of

wiped out. The commodity he had to sell was a perishable one and had to be gotten rid of.

Now the laborer, having only his labor to sell, suffers from both of these causes. He is under necessity, as a general rule, to sell, and further his commodity is the most perishable of all commodities, hence capital, which is the only customer of labor, as naturally takes advantage of such a combination of circumstances as the general public does of a forced sale in commodities in general, or of goods that will not keep. In the first place the laborer is under necessity of selling his labor. We all know what that necessity is, hunger is one element and that the grimest of all. He must work or starve. The average free born man shrinks with loathing from accepting aid from others. Men are not of choice tramps or criminal, save of course in exceptional cases. But the workman is not alone in his suffering. In a majority of cases there are others depending on him, wife and children. Do not all see there is a terrible pressure put on the workman to dispose of his ware? The comfortably well off world little realizes what some sections of the laboring world, impelled by dire necessity, undergo to provide for themselves and those dependent on them. Let us make no mistake. There is no commodity, the possessor of which is under so great a pressure to sell as he who has only labor to sell. His very life and the life of others is at stake. Hunger, sickness and want of every kind stare him

TENDENCY OF CAPITAL.

face. He must dispose of his commodity, at the lowest wages. It was Solomon of old who said, "the destruction of the poor is their poverty;" not only is he under pressure of dire necessity, but his commodity is the most perishable of all commodities. All other commodities may be stored up for a longer or shorter time without loss in quantity or quality. But labor cannot be stored for one moment without partially wasting. Unless it be sold immediately, some portion of it will never be sold at all. To-day's labor cannot be stored for after to-day, for by to-morrow it will have passed away. No matter how short a time a laborer delays the sale of his labor, he has certainly lost the whole price of his labor for the time he was waiting. He is like the over-stocked dealer in fruit, before conse-

time. Freezing, canning or chemicals may preserve fruits for further use, but no step can be taken to prevent the waste of time which enters into the computation of labor.

Of a truth, the more we examine the question the more surprising it seems that in spite of its advantages which we have tried to point out, that the system of wagedom or capitalist production was ever allowed to develop. It is altogether one-sided. From every point of view labor is at a disadvantage. Labor is a commodity, therefore according to the law of value, it will bring only subsistence wages. It is a commodity, therefore capital will, most certainly, procure it at the lowest price it can, the same as it does iron and coal. Once again labor is a commodity, but it is placed at a great disadvantage besides all other commodities, since its possessors are under the sternest necessity to sell, and further it is such an extremely perishable article that the only way to realize on it is to sell it at once. Is it any surprise then that we find a great deal of misery and distress in the world, need we wonder that many signs of an impending change are discernible, can we doubt that the general conscience of the people will demand, in the name of simple equity alone, that some change be made, and that too, soon.

A recent writer sums up the situation in the following words, which, in spite of their sarcasm, contain a world of truth. We make but slight change in the

Here is the laboring classes face to face with which holds in its grip the means of subsistence. reach those means of subsistence or starve. ns laid down for its acceptance are clear and we will place within your hands the means nce if you will prôduce sufficient to support ll as yourselves, and if you will consent that e of your produce, over that which is sufficient ort you in a hardy, frugal life, shall be the of us and of our children. If you are very very self-denying and very lucky you may be ave enough out of your small share of the to feed yourself in your old age and so avoid ack on us. The children will tread the same ad, and we hope you will remain contented position in which Providence has placed you.

ably no one could have foreseen the practical consequence, or practical evils, as we might say, which were inseparably connected with it. They have come to the front with the growth of modern industry. Probably no one could foresee that the new system meant the gradual disappearance of the yeoman farmers of England. That was as much unforeseen as it is generally unforeseen that the evils under which the agriculturalists of this country are laboring are caused also by the simple fact that labor is a commodity. With official figures before us from which it can be shown that the rewards of labor are the same in both spheres of activity, it will, perhaps, become clearer how the one class of laborers partake of the misery of the other. Neither is it now generally understood, in this country, that a continuance of this system means the ultimate destruction of our agricultural system. And yet as time passes on, it will more and more pay capital to really take hold of land.

The French writer, Bastiat, has written on the distinction between the Seen and the Unseen in economical matters. Here is an excellent case in point. The agriculturalist sees that if labor is only cheap he can procure on easier terms such hands as he needs on his farm. He sees that if labor only is cheap he can procure his agricultural implements cheaper. What he does not see is the fact that he himself partakes in the general prosperity of labor. He does not see that the value of the produce he raises, rises and

h the value of labor generally. He knows the laborer is generally employed in manipulating the machinery, he fails to take into account that himself is a laborer manipulating one of the products of machines, the soil. He fails to see that as time passes on, it is going to be harder and harder for those possessed of a small machine—a small farm—to compete with the larger and more powerful ones. He does not seem to understand that when capital once seriously turns its attention to farming, the small farmer will be as remorselessly crushed and turned into a mere tenant farmer, as was the manufacturer crushed out when the factory

They are not, as in the case of railroad laborers, scattered all along an extended line. The company that owns the mines generally owns many of the houses in which the miners live, and they generally have a store in which the miners are expected to trade. So here we have capitalist production, almost in its normal form, all the means of subsistence in the hands of capital, and a large body of workmen on the other. So in mining industry we have a good example of what this system tends to bring about.

However, we are not ready to talk about monopolies just yet. Mr. H. D. Lloyd has presented to the world the terrible story of Spring Valley. A story which no American can read without varied emotions of sorrow, shame, indignation and alarm. Sorrow, when we read of the vast amount of suffering caused by the acts of capital. Shame, when we think that men, who as individuals lead excellent lives, yet as officials of a corporation resort to schemes so dastardly to effect their purposes. Indignation, when we reflect that they are legally blameless, and are to-day enjoying the usufruct of their acts. Alarm, when we can but see that such is the tendency of the age, that the time is surely coming when, if the proper steps are not taken, more and more of the main avenues of production will be as thoroughly under the control of capital as is coal mining. The fact is, wealth, although it may have and undoubtedly does have a refining and elevating influence, as truly has a debasing influence,

in the mad pursuit of gold, especially if their
veiled behind the doings of corporations, do
k from acts that should forever condemn them.
s well known, at various places in Illinois coal
great abundance, Streator, Braidwood and
may be mentioned as examples. The Chicago
thwestern railway is one of the giant corpo-
f the West. It has its branches and leased
over Northern Illinois, Northern Iowa, South-
onsin, Southern Minnesota and South Dakota.
ith this fact, a number of wealthy men largely
d in the railway, some of them being directors
ame, concluded it would be a good thing to
eel field of their own. Not only could the

develop the mines ; the Town Site Company to boom the town, and sell off building lots at an enormous advance of what it cost the company to buy. The Railway Company built a branch road from Belvidere, on the main line, and was to do the hauling of the coal and purchase what it needed for its own use. The Fuel Company at St. Paul attended to business at its end of the line by supplying the innumerable towns with coal. We must remember that these various companies were largely composed of the same men and interests. So far so good. Nothing but brisk business from the word "go." But to carry on the mining operations, and to boom the town, a large population must be gathered.

Accordingly, in the Spring of 1885, most glowing advertisements were circulated all over the country in pamphlets and newspapers, mentioning the many advantages to be found in the new town. Miners were assured that there was no doubt of steady work and good wages, where they could procure homes on most excellent terms. The bait took. From all the coal-mining towns around, miners sold their little homes and moved to Spring Valley. Business men concluded that there was just the place for them to set up business. Emigrants were drawn, not only from other states as far away as Pennsylvania and Colorado, but even from Europe. In France and Belgium, miners were assured that a home, steady employment and good wages awaited them in Spring Valley. So suc-

were all these steps that a population of, at
re thousand people were gathered in about
ears. Every thing was going on swimmingly.
own Site Company had made an enormous
at of their investment. It is true, the miners
been able to make any extra wages. Still
re hopeful. Other miners were still being
o come, and it seemed reasonable that better
ere ahead.

much for "booming" legitimate business and
sort of thing. But capital has more than one
make profit, and so having got its population
capital proceeded to put in execution a
with "millions in it." True, it entailed a va-

case the miners, for any reason, quit work—if such arrangement could be done, why of course the men—their slaves for the time being—would be rendered tractable. All these advantages capital desired to gain. Accordingly, arrangements were made to secure them. We must remember that no strike was whispered about among the men, and the owners were paying no more wages than were being in the neighboring towns of LaSalle, Streator or Braidwood; indeed not quite so good in some respects.

Without a word of warning two of the mines were closed in December, 1888, throwing seven hundred men out of employment. What this throwing out of employment means is hard to realize by the comfortably off. We must understand that on the average the men had been able to earn a fraction less than thirty-two dollars per month. It probably needs no demonstration that with that amount of wages they had no extra resources at command to support themselves during the winter just coming on. The miners who remained at work, about fourteen hundred, divided up the work with their less fortunate comrades. By this means the miners managed to get through the winter somehow. But in April, without further warning, all the mines were suddenly closed. What did capital that was engineering these operations care if two thousand miners with families on their hands, with absolutely nothing ahead, in debt for their little homes, were suddenly left with nothing?

did it care if the business of the small trade
settled down was ruined? It knew what

It was a splendid exhibition of what leg
business notions mean if capital is allowed
pleases.

was about five months before the compar
to make any offer to its miners. The off
ed to less than half the wages they had bee
less than half what was being paid in neig
nines. This offer could not possibly be a
by the men. The company did not suppo
be accepted. Four weeks later a propos
s made embodying all the points which w

two-thirds of the men had scattered out in search of work elsewhere. Many disappointments awaited these poor fellows. When they got to a place where work was reported they often found they were deceived. Nothing to do but to go somewhere else. Yet they sent off the pittance they could earn to their families left to face the horrors of hunger and sickness at home. The wife of a merchant in Spring Valley, who was doing all she could out of the wreck of her husband's business to help the still more unfortunate families around her, was asked how she could tell a family was in want. Listen to her reply, "When the neighbors see the little children of a family hanging about the door crying silently hour by hour, they know well enough what is the matter. There's never a bite in that house, you may be sure." "Little children crying silently hour by hour." What a pathetic spectacle! But we forget capital was doing a magnificent stroke of business.

Father Huntington, of the order of the Holy Cross, who has devoted his life to the poor of New York, visited Spring Valley and was greatly moved by what he saw. He says: "The poverty stricken inhabitants are not like the poor I am used to seeing in New York. There is no whining; the people show intelligence and pride; even hunger has not debased their feelings as one might expect. I am used to scenes of want, but what I saw at Spring Valley was different. It was more pitiful than anything I have

tnessed before." Mr. Lloyd himself writes
Spring Valley in September: "In this great
prosperous State, and in the midst of harvest
farms and rich cities, the visitor will see a cem-
tery of the living. Instead of the light of health
in the eyes of the men and women the
presence of decaying strength, and the chil-
dren who are physically weakened by want are dying. . . .
The teachers in the public school stated that
on her way to school in the morning she would some-
times meet as many as a dozen of her class out with
nothing to eat, going to beg. As they saw her the little
children, ashamed, would try to hide from sight until
she had passed. . . . Numbers of the chil-

learn this lesson? No one probably entertained a suspicion that the village community would end in villanage. So no one probably ever dreamed that capital to achieve its end would override the rights, the very lives of the people. And if they know how to do it in one department of labor will it not find a way to do it in all? On this point Mr. Lloyd continues, and his words are a solemn warning to all: "The story of Spring Valley needs but a change of names and a few details, to be the story of Braidwood, Ill., where babies and men and women wither away to be transmigrated into the dividends of a millionaire coal-miner of Beacon street, Boston. It needs but a few changes to be the story of Punxsutawney—where starving foreigners have eaten up all the dogs in the country to keeps themselves loyally alive to to dig coal again when their master re-opens the coal kennels; and of Scranton and the Lehigh Valley, where the hard, very hard, coal barons of Pennsylvania manufacture artificial winter for twelve months of every year. It needs but a few changes to be the story of Brazil, Ind., where the Brazil Block Coal Company locked out their thousands of miners last year even until their wives and children grew transparent enough to be glasses through which the miners could read, though darkly, the terms of surrender which they had to accept. It needs but a few changes to be the story of the Hocking Valley, where Pinkerton gunpowder was burned to give the light by which

ould read "the free contract" its brother Capital-
nted it to sign—or the story of the Reading
ies, where, as stated in the report of the Con-
onal Committee of 1887-1888, the employer
ed the miners to riot, and then shot the rioters
y." The story of Spring Valley needs not
changes to be a picture of what all American
y will come to be if the power of capital de-
at its present rate up to the end of the nine-
century."

et no one suppose that in such a fight as this
few thousand miners on one side and a few
sts on the other, are concerned. The story has
old only as a typical one. Only to call atten-

CHAPTER VIII.

INTENSITY OF LABOR.

The Second Principle on which Capital Depends—The Length of the Working Day—Freedom of Labor—Capital Desires to make the Working Day Long—History of the Subject—Extracts from Karl Marx—Legislation in the United States on this Subject—Piece Work—Evils of this System—The Sweating System—How the Poorer Classes are compelled to Live—Some of the Tenement Houses of New York—Workings of the System in our Large Cities—The Moral to be drawn—Conclusion.



HAVE as yet considered only one of the two principles which capital must take into consideration in creating surplus value, that is the necessity of getting labor as cheap as possible. We have discussed what consequence flow from thence. Not only are the natural advantages all in the hands of capital, but capital has discovered how to create new advantages. Now the second principle remains to be considered. That is, labor must be made as productive as possible, the laborer's work must be made to yield as great a return as possible. On further consideration this is seen to be but a branch of the first principle. If you can manage to make one laborer do the work of two, while paying him only the wages of one, you certainly

ected a wonderful reduction of wages. But consider it entirely separate from the other principle. Here, too, we shall discover the source of woe. Here, too, we shall find a most potent agent of oppression which results in degrading. And as one class can not suffer in this degradation without all suffering, we shall see how necessary it is for capital to thus exploit labor. The first aspect of the case concerns the length of the working day. If we will recall in the days of old, the villan was expected to work one or more weeks for the lord, besides extra work at various times of the year. Here there was no disguise. He paid his lord this service for which he received

are powerless to resist. They must give up the right of organization; they must take no united action to better their condition. In how many cases do we not know that workmen have been compelled of late years to sign iron-clad agreements not to belong to any labor organization? We all know such instances. Why does capital object? The reasons generally given are transparently flimsy. The real reason is, as has been shown in the most thorough manner by labor statistics in Ohio, that "the trades best organized receive the most compensation for their labor, live better, save the most money and provide more comfort and conveniences for their families than those trades whose organization are too imperfect for the protection of its members." When men are compelled to sign away such rights as this, what becomes of their freedom?

And how about not bestowing his labor for nothing? In the days of serfage, such toil could be easily estimated, it amounted to a certain number of days toil in the year. But have we not shown that taking the United States as a whole, the laborer creates the value of his labor in about one-half the time he is at work? Does he not then really work the other half, for his employer's profit alone? Now, of course, we do not mean to say that this is all clear profit to the employer or to capital, but it certainly does show that there is not such a difference as we might suppose between wages and serfage. The villan or serf

his lord's land, say two days a week. Here open and above board, he worked two days for . . . If the average factory workman replaces in . . . half of the day the value of the wages paid . . . certainly works the last half of the day for . . . During the week then he works three days . . . ing. We no longer call it villanage. But "a . . . any other name will smell as sweet." And . . . we have already set forth, if labor in general . . . or capital about one-half the time for nothing . . . agricultural labor does also. The farmer may . . . is working for himself alone "free" and "in- . . . ent." It is a case of mistaken identity. . . . is introduces us to the length of the working

the seventeenth centuries ten hours a day was all that the law tried to make the legal day. This was the legal day for artisans, agricultural laborers and blacksmiths. And it seems that even then they refused to work all of the week, they insisted on time for recreation and holidays. Some writers of the last quarter of the eighteenth century thought it would be wise to punish the paupers by shutting them up in work-houses and compelling them to work twelve hours a day.

And yet so rapidly did capital increase its power that in but a few years after this the normal working day for all became twelve hours. This was considered the natural limit of a day's work. But with the general introduction of machinery even this restraint way broken down. Thirteen, fourteen, fifteen and even more hours a day came to be the rule. The evil grew to such an alarming proportion that Great Britain was simply forced against the clamorous objection of employers to commence legislation against long hours. The employment of children during these excessive long hours was the crying evil of the age. No less than five acts were passed from 1802 to 1832 to restrict the hours of labor. The act of 1833 prohibited the employment of young persons, that is from thirteen to eighteen years old, for more than twelve hours a day, and of other persons for more than fifteen hours a day. Quite different this, from the legislation which tried to make full grown

s work ten hours a day. Nothing displays forcibly the heartlessness of capital than the want of laws to prevent them from working men more than fifteen hours a day.

It is interesting to read Karl Marx's account of the course of the struggle between capital and labor, and the many ingenious ways in which capital circumvented the law. It was not until 1848 that the working day was reduced in a number of trades, to ten hours. Several times since then, legislation has been enacted to interfere to protect labor from the power of capital; and especially to protect little children. It is singular that this step was necessary. And it is any more strange that capital should utterly

The lace trade was one of the trades left untouched by the legislation of 1848. Marx quotes from a London paper of 1860 an account of a meeting in the interest of that trade. One speaker declared "That there was an amount of privation and suffering among that portion of the population connected with the lace trade unknown in other parts of the kingdom, indeed in the civilized world. . . . Children of nine or ten years are dragged from their squalid beds at two, three or four o'clock in the morning and compelled to work for a bare subsistence until ten, eleven or twelve at night; their limbs wearing away, their frames dwindling, their faces whitening, and their humanity absolutely sinking into a stone-like torpor, utterly horrible to contemplate. . . . The system as described is one of unmitigated slavery, socially, morally and spiritually.

The potters' trade was another trade left unregulated. the "children's employment commission" for 1863 preserved the testimony of some of the children employed in such works. From this we can judge what the adults must have worked. One boy of seven testified that he worked from six in the morning until nine at night; another, a boy of twelve, testified as follows: "I come at six. Sometimes I come at four. I worked all night last night till six o'clock this morning. I have not been in bed since night before last." No wonder that when the doctors were asked as to the effect produced they should

Each generation of potters is more dwarfed and less robust than the preceding one. The potters as a class, both men and women, represent a degenerated population, both physically and morally. They are, as a rule, stunted in growth, ill-shaped and abnormally ill-formed in the chest; they become prematurely old, and are certainly short lived."

These accounts could of course be extended to a great length. And even in trades regulated by law there was so much ingenuity shown by various masters in devising means to circumvent the law. Before the factory legislation of 1867 men and women were worked far beyond the proper limit of strength. It is a most striking commentary on the i

those employed at Spring Valley to accomplish its ends. The general principles of factory legislation of Great Britain have been adopted by the several States of this Union. Though there is considerable diversity, most of the States prohibit child labor under a certain age, generally from twelve to fourteen. Above that period they may be employed, but, in a number of States at least, there are restrictions for a year or so longer. Such as that they can not be employed while public schools are in session, they must be able to read and write, they must attend school a certain number of weeks. Then, in most States they are forbidden to work more than ten hours a day under eighteen years of age. This same restriction is generally thrown around women, and they are in addition absolutely forbidden to be employed in certain kinds of work, as mining. In some States eight hours is made a legal day's work, in nearly all, however, it is ten hours, and almost without exception longer hours can be arranged by special contract. And, in examining the various reports on the number of hours employed in various manufactures, we are struck with the fact that large and very important branches still work their men eleven and twelve hours a day. In the manufacture of pig-iron, for instance, the hours are almost always twelve. Other branches of the iron work generally ten. In the manufacture of cotton and woollen goods the hours are nearly always eleven, excepting in the State of Massachu-

Flour and the preparation of food, in the majority of cases, twelve hours. Lumbering, eleven hours. Manufacture of carpets, eleven hours. On these we will notice that these branches, while important indeed, yet require relatively a lower intensity of labor than others. Compare, for instance, the making of iron with steel, or the making of steel

in general terms, however, the limit in this country, Great Britain, is placed at ten hours. But what is the right limit? Every one knows that we have seen in some years an agitation in favor of eight hours in this country; and that is one of the demands which labor makes now. We have watched the swing

a desired end. Indirect means will often succeed where direct ones fail. Capital, bent on getting all that it can out of labor, has of course considered every phase of the problem. Now it so happens that a method can be adopted in a number of employments which apparently seems fair and above board, but in effect it opens the door to very great abuse. That is paying by the piece. Certainly this seems to be a fair way of doing. It is after all nothing but the old way of reckoning wages, and it appears to throw the evil of overwork on the workman. Their remuneration at best is very small, they can hardly resist the temptation of working a little longer so as to get a little more pay, and so the process goes on, and in certain employments we find an appalling amount of overwork.

Suppose the custom would spring up of buying cotton cloth by the pound. How long would it take our merchants to know just how many yards of a certain width it took to make one pound? Does any one suppose we would get cloth any cheaper? It is just so in paying by the piece. Whether a laborer receives a dollar and a quarter a day for ten hours' labor, or a shilling a piece for ten pieces, which experience shows he can turn out in one day, what difference does it make? Its ill effects are neutralized, if, for instance, the work is done in a factory, where the machinery is only run a certain number of hours a day, or in a coal mine, where the miner is paid so

ton, but the hours of labor is specified. And in such cases, the tendency is to make the men exert themselves. Let us illustrate that point. Let us start from the well ascertained ground that a laborer is going to receive is a living any way. Suppose his wages are two dollars a day. Two men may be working side by side, both able to earn the same wages. Now if payment by the piece be introduced, it may be that one man will be able to finish more articles than the other; but, in effect, instead of getting the benefit of this, the other's wages will be cut, or he will have to really over-exert himself. This is not altogether a hypothetical case. The

out in those trades in which the work can be done at home. Such as tailoring and cigar making. Here an amount of evil comes to view on the slightest inspection that is absolutely appalling. This introduces us to the "Sweating System." Every one knows what is meant by this expression. Its victims are the wretchedly poor men and women, who make various articles of wearing apparel, such as shirts, vests, overalls, etc. The "sweater" may be either some subcontractor, as is generally the case, who procures the work done for large wholesale houses, or it may be some highly respectable firm itself, who conclude to cover into their treasury all the profit there is to be made. Sweating is by no means confined to the clothing trade, nor to women. Cigars are often made in tenement house factories. The inspectors in New York City reported that they found nothing more dangerous to public health, family virtue and common decency than the huge tenement house cigar factory. One quarter in New York properly known as Jewtown is almost entirely given up to the cheap clothing manufacturing. There the system may be seen in its perfection.

If we will only reflect that sweating is concerned with the labor of the wretchedly poor and mainly helpless, we might say hopeless, classes of women, children, ignorant emigrants, we can at once see what fearful advantages are taken of their necessities. They are starving, cold, sick, prices are put down to the

lowest point. Where only by the most pinching pay, and work of fifteen or sixteen hours a day, is secured a most wretched living, under most deplorable circumstances. Society is powerless to break these evils under present circumstances. Given the present system, given a great concentration of population, and such evils will as inevitably come into existence as night follows day. And what monstrous evils they are. To a whole class of people in our cities Hood's lines apply:

"Work! Work! Work!

My labor never flags;

And what are its wages? A bed of straw,

A crust of bread—and rags.

That shattered roof—and this naked floor—

dark and even fouler than the outer one, held the bed ; a mattress, black with age, lying on the floor. Here such rest as might be had was taken when the sixteen hours of work ended—sixteen hours of toil unrelieved by one gleam of hope or cheer ; the net result of this accumulated and ever accumulating misery being three dollars and fifty cents a week. Two women, using their utmost diligence, could finish one cloak per day, receiving from the sweater, through whose hands all must come, fifty cents each for a toil unequaled by any form of labor under the sun . . . They are products of nineteenth century civilization, and these seven are but types, hundreds of their kind confronting the searcher, who looks on aghast, and who as the list lengthens and case after case gives its unutterably miserable details, turns away in a despair only matched by that of the worker."

The same writer has an account that is a wonderfully impressive comment on our present civilization, and shows in a most striking light how abject misery may exist side by side with some of the highest results of modern culture. The great East River bridge is one of the triumphs of modern skill. But as its mighty arches were slowly reared they shut out light and sunshine from cheerless tenement houses near. The electric light, however, another product of modern times, lighted up the same at night. In this case what did the wretched tenants do? "The day's work has ceased to be the day's work, and the women who can

ord the gas or oil that must burn if they work day time, sleep while day lasts and when night and the electric light penetrates every corner shadowy rooms, turn to the toil by which their won . . . Natural law, natural living abolished for all, and this light that blinds but holds no shining upon the mass of weary humanity who forgotten what sunshine may mean and who joy that life was meant to hold."

Y-town, New York, is as stated, almost wholly up to workers on cheap clothes, and there are in abundance. It must be said, to the of the Jewish population, that though in the poverty, though forced to inhuman hours of

the sweater's district. Every open window of the big tenements, that stand like a continuous brick wall on both sides of the way, gives you a glimpse of one of these shops as the train speeds by. Men and women bending over their machines, or ironing clothes at the window, half-naked. Proprieties do not count on the East Side; nothing counts that cannot be converted into hard cash. The road is like a big gangway through an endless work room where vast multitudes are forever laboring. Morning, noon or night, it makes no difference; the scene is always the same. At Rivington Street, let us get off and continue our trip on foot. Men stagger along the sidewalk groaning under heavy burdens of unsewn garments, or enormous black bags stuffed full of finished coats and trousers. Let us follow one to his home. Up two flights of dark stairs, three, four, on every landing, whirring sewing machines behind closed doors betraying what goes on within, to the door that opens to admit the bundle and the man. A sweater, this, in a small way. Five men and a woman, two young girls, not fifteen, and a boy. The floor is littered ankle-deep with half-sewn garments. In the alcove, on a couch of many dozens of "pants" ready for the finisher, a bare-legged baby with pinched face is asleep. A fence of piled up clothing keeps him from rolling off on the floor. The faces, hands and arms, to the elbows, of every one in the room are black with the color of the cloth on which they are working. The boy and the

alone look up at our entrance. The girls shoot glances, but at a warning look from the man the bundle they tread their machines more energetically than ever. The men do not appear to be even of the presence of a stranger."

We have mentioned the tenement house cigar factory. This is a sort of variation in the regular system. Its headquarters are in the Bohemian part of the town. But little machinery is required in making. Skill comes by practice. In work of this character the owner of dilapidated tenement contrives to reap double profits, one as landlord and one as employer. The necessities of the Bohemians are so great that they are literally reduced to

Mr. Riis gives some figures in another instance where better prices than usual were obtained for their work. A man could make six cents and a half an hour. He and his wife worked seventeen hours and a half a day.

Now when we feel indignant to think such a state of affairs should exist, let us stop and ask what it is that we especially condemn. Here is a firm selling ready made clothing. In order to meet competition in their trade, they must sell as cheaply as other stores. They can not pay more for their labor than the others. It is easy of course to excoriate employers, but there is no more reason in so doing than there is in blaming yourself. Why don't you head a good round subscription for their relief. Those who employ them and pay the wages agreed upon are no more called upon to pay extra wages than you are to take up a collection for their benefit. Here as elsewhere the proverb as to people living in glass houses applies. There is an immense amount of miserably poor people applying for this work. If our present system is right why should an employer offer them higher wages? When you buy groceries or clothing your conscience never hurts you for buying of the one who will sell the cheapest. Why should not an employer of labor have the same privilege and buy the commodity in which he deals at the lowest possible figure? In all our large cities there is any amount of people hungry for work at these low prices. It would be fully as reasonable to expect grocers in the

their hearts to sell them sugar, coffee and
at about one-half of the usual rates,
for their condition, as to expect employers
to double what they are now.
in, it is the system itself that is at fault.
man is not a philanthropist, everflowing
on the contrary he is looking out for
We must deal with the world as it is,
ould like to have it. It must be evident
stem places the means of production in
one set of men, thereby giving them
e other portion, that the first are cer-
o exercise that power. Not only will

itself that has outgrown all bounds and that faces us to-day—the modern Medusa on which he who looks has no more heart of flesh and blood, but forever heart of stone, insensible to any sorrow, unmoved by any cry of child or woman. It is with this shape that the battle must be, and no man has yet told us its issue. Nay, save here and there one, who counts that battle is needed, or sees the shadow of the terror walking not only in darkness, but before all men's eyes, who is there that has not chosen blindness, and will not hear the voice that pleads: "Let my people go free."

Yes, a change must somehow be made. Surely it is not all a disordered fancy which pictures to ourselves a different future. When the boundless wealth of nature, the almost limitless ingenuity of man will banish much of ignorance, poverty and crime. When little children shall not go ragged, shivering and starving to bed, in order that others may heap wealth on wealth. A time must come when the means of living shall be so easy to obtain that men and women need not

Work! work! work!
Till the brain begins to swim,
Work! work! work!
Till the eyes are heavy and dim,
Work! work! work!
From weary chime to chime,
Work! work! work!
As prisoners work for crime.






THE BEGINNING OF THE AGE OF MASSACRE

CHAPTER IX.

AGE OF MACHINERY.

—Genesis of a machine—Definition of a machine—
machines—Present aspects of the case—Capital ren-
tative by machines—Exchange value effected by ma-
chines' opinion—Progress of the last century—The
—Disadvantages of machinery—The displacement
—Machines lower the standard of labor—Child
of labor—Conclusion.

 CAN define man as a "tool-using
animal." There is more in this

be used to deliver strokes which shiver a block of granite to powder or gently break an egg, as we may desire. The whole history of man's progress passes between those extremes.

In discussing the definition of capital, we found that while of a truth capital was as old as labor itself, yet it was but recently that it exhibited the peculiar characteristics of modern capital. Society had to reach a peculiar stage of development before capital became what it is to-day. It is the same thing with a machine. In one sense of the word, machines have existed about as long as man himself; and yet again what we nowadays mean by machines and machinery is a modern product. It simply amounts to this: In the first stage, men performed work by the aid of machines. In the second stage, machines do work with the aid of men. This distinction will be found to be a very real one. The primitive weaver makes improvement in the simple machine which he uses. He is the driving hand with it all; his machine simply helps him. In the immense factories they now have huge automations, with self-acting electric stops, which stop the machine when a bobbin is empty or when a thread breaks. One hand can tend to several looms. Here is machinery doing work with the aid of men.

The genesis of a machine is about as follows: Man uses some simple tool to help him perform his

He saws wood with a saw, knits with some, or spins with a distaff. He has but two tools to work with. He can not work two saws at once with any precision at least; can not knit with more than four needles, or attend to more than one spinning wheel. The primitive machine is a man working a number of these tools at once. Several saws are united in a gang-saw. In the first spinning jenny, eight, and afterwards sixteen spindles, were revolved by one wheel; and a single frame, representing as many fingers and as there were threads, alternately advanced and retracted from the spindles, imitating mechanic motions of hand itself: while in the stock-

A machine, then, generally is a number of tools arranged in a frame to do work similar in kind to what the individual workman did previously. Or it may be in all its essential parts the simple tool or machine of the individual worker, but now moved by iron and steam, and consequently operated on a cyclopean scale, just as many kinds of steam pumps are but gigantic reproductions of the ordinary pumps. No great improvement was possible until a steady and adequate motive power to drive the machines could be supplied. Human power by cranks and pedals, horse power in various ways, wind and water were all employed. But none can for one minute be compared to steam; hence the invention by Watt, in 1784, of the steam engine, justly marks the beginning of modern machine industry.

Now a tireless monster, needing only a due supply of coal, oil, and water, is ready to do our bidding; a geni more powerful far than Aladdin's is at our service. Progress now consists in improving the simple tools, the conditions under which they are moved being now altogether different than when employed by the individual worker. Resemblance to the original tools gradually disappears; they are more and more perfected until they become vast automatons. The speed at which they work is greatly increased. The primitive spindle revolved but a few hundred times a minute; the

n spindle seven thousand times a minute. Machines are made by other machines with mathematical precision. Electric stops, automatic shut-off, and innumerable mechanical devices of marvellous ingenuity are constantly being invented to take the place of the human hand, or eye, or ear, which, unlike them, will not grow weary, or forgetful, or heedless. The element of technical skill of the individual worker, on which nearly all depended in the earlier stage, is thrust more and more into the background. The machine depends less and less on skilled human help. If, in a card-machine nowadays, a thread breaks, the machine stops until the attendant has replaced it.

change in the system will be for one minute tolerated which does not accept at once the machinery of the day, or which does not contrive in some way to hold out the most enticing inducements to men to continue in the field of invention. We want to spur men on to struggle for still greater conquests, even richer prizes in the future. We have but just begun the exploitations of electricity. What marvelous results even now are before us. Unless we mistake, there is a richer mine awaiting development here than in the exploitation of steam during the last century. And just at this time, too, we are but just beginning to make practical use of one of the most abundant minerals which nature has provided for us—aluminum.

Pages could be filled with a description of its many useful qualities. It abounds everywhere. We have been debarred from using it because science had discovered no way of reducing it from its ore, clay, in a cheap and practical way. We hear rumors every day that the secret has at last been solved. There has certainly been a great reduction in price of late years, and undoubtedly progress will continue in this direction. We believe this discovery as truly marks the opening of a new age in civilization, as did the the discovery of iron. What this means, only those know who have pondered long on the growth of civilization—have

AGE OF MACHINERY.

and the wonderful advances man made in
when he gained a knowledge of bronze,
wonderful advance still when he became
ed with iron. Those who think we h
reached the end of progress in mechan
tions are as certainly in error as was the th
of a hundred years ago who might h
ht the invention of the steam engine
g more to be desired.

a some way, then, all the practical results n
ed must be preserved, and further discover
must be sought for. All this can be said, a
e need not shut our eyes to the deplora
that accompany the increasing use of r

in the past, and is now, the dumping ground of Europe. But we have about reached a turning point in our history, and so from all sources we can but conclude a change must come soon, so it is but wise to examine more particularly into this machine industry, and study more particularly what its effect on labor has been in the past, and what its probable effect will be in the future.

We are prone to speak of labor being rendered much more productive by new inventions and discoveries. But now, under our present system, in which labor is but a commodity, it is not the laborer who gets the fruits of this increased productiveness. And in fact, as it is in effect, it is not true that labor is rendered more productive; the truth is, it is capital that is rendered more productive. This is very clear when we stop and reflect. A mere man, by his own unaided exertions, can do no more to-day than he could one hundred years ago. The same amount of exertion will tire him quite as quickly now as it did then. He can walk no further, run no faster, or move his arms or feet more quickly than he could then. He gets on a locomotive and goes in one hour a distance he could not have traversed in a day then. The result, however, is due not to his powers, but to the instruments he uses. One man, working with Goodyear's sewing machine for turned shoes, will

one day as many pairs of shoes as eight could sew by hand; not because he can work, but because he uses a better instrument to him. But these instruments of labor are capital. The growth of power is not in man, in labor, but in the instruments which he uses—in capital. It is clear that whoever owns and commands the instruments owns and commands the increase of power. As far as capital is concerned, inventions and discoveries have been of enormous value. Improved machines may cost it more, but why should the labor cost any more?

In geometry we sometimes prove the truth of a proposition by a *reductio ad absurdum*. Something

without materially affecting the condition of the laborer? Any change in the price of the raw material which capital has to buy, or any change in the technical process by which it is worked up, can not effect a change in the value of labor itself. It is but a commodity, which capital will buy as low as it can.

From our discussion of value we know that improvement in machinery must result in lowering the exchange value of commodities. If the amount of human labor incorporated in a pair of boots now be but a fraction of what it once was, then boots must have less of exchange value. This same argument is true in the case of all commodities. In this way, then, the general public must be greatly benefited. Every new invention is, as we know, protected by monopolies, but in course of time the benefits spread out. In this cheapness of commodities laborers must be benefited the same as other people. On this fact many rely as sufficient answer to the whole question. Theoretically that ought to be the answer. We shall find, however, that owing to many causes labor does not and can not reap all the advantages to which it should be entitled. It can not, owing to the system under which we live. We can see no escape from the conclusion that material progress in this direction must be accompanied by an increasing amount of

ing the masses of the people. Is there
that this has been the case up to the

orold Rogers sums up his researches
omic history of the past six centuries
Modern civilization will be judged,
it has done, but by what it has left
by what it has remedied, but by what
to heal, or at least to have relieved;
uccesses, but by its shortcomings. It
the progress of some has been more
balanced by the distress and sorrow of
the opulence and strength of modern
the poverty and misery which are
h and surround them; and that there
and increasing consciousness that the

machinery? Several reasons at once present themselves. An invention is protected by a patent, which is as it should be, since we ought to reward the inventor some way. But it remains something of a monopoly all the time. Suppose that to-morrow some inventor hits on a means of making boots at one-half the price they can now be manufactured for; but, being a most eccentric sort of an individual, he refuses to take out a patent for it, but on the contrary spreads the details of the invention before the general public. The price of boots will not fall one-half, simply because a large amount of capital is required to embark in the manufacture of boots and shoes. The manufacturers may make use of the invention, and may reduce the price to some extent; but since every one can not embark in the business, those who do might as well reap a profit on the invention. This illustration may help us to see how it is that the more the amount of capital required to take advantage of the fruits of material invention and discovery of modern times, the harder it becomes for mere labor to reap a share of the advantages.

As a recent writer says: "During the last half century, and more particularly during the last generation, the rate of material progress has been accelerated to an almost incredible degree, and at the same time nearly all essential steps in progress

een of such a nature that they can only be by the help of a large amount of capital. and electrical engines and modern machinery inds are far too costly to be procured from e ordinary man can save by labor. Circum- have combined to make the command of apital much more than formerly indispensable the successful carrying on of most staple and industries. Only an amount quite be- ne reach of the ordinary laborer can secure n a claim to a share of wealth in excess of essaries. Capital has become a most power- opoly, and asserts itself as such to the det-

ers. This is but a typical case, and may be taken to represent the manufacturing world in general. It must be clear, without any reference to what is known as the "wages fund" theory, about which economical writers are still arguing, that one hundred years ago, for instance, the amount devoted to the purchase of machinery and the employment of labor must have had quite a different proportion from what they hold to-day. When we extend this observation to the whole manufacturing world, and reflect on the enormous increase of machinery, we can not avoid the conclusion that the inevitable effect of material progress is that a smaller and smaller proportionate part of the total national capital will be devoted to the employment of labor. Thus in 1860 there was an adult male laborer employed for every nine hundred and seventy dollars of capital invested. Twenty years later an adult male laborer was employed for every thirteen hundred and thirty-two dollars of capital invested.

Notice, no one says that an absolutely smaller amount will be devoted to the employment of labor. Capital is increasing very fast; a smaller proportionate amount may be a relatively larger sum. But, for all that, the conclusion is a most disheartening one. "It involves," says Prof. Cairns, "a tendency towards a relative increase of the classes living by hired labor as compared with those who

and again a tendency towards increased
ity in the distribution of wealth. * * *

tendencies have in general been very fully
in the actual experience of the world, and
eminent degree in the experience of Great

I am justified in asserting that the per-
maintenance of a regime such as is contem-
i. e., wherein labor is but a commodity, the
(receiving wages merely), co-existing with a
sive industry, can only issue in one result—
ant exaggeration of those features already
ng to mark so unpleasantly the aspect of
ial state—namely, a harsh separation of
combined with those glaring inequalities

tions all the necessities of life were to be reduced one-half in cost; so that a laborer who was now receiving, say two dollars for a day's work, which at present just supported him, would have a dollar to spare. How long would his wages remain at that point? How long before he would be informed that since everything had fallen in value one-half, his wages would be reduced that amount? If the change was very gradual, and only after many years that the above result was reached—still, according to the law of labor value, his wages would decline as his living grew cheaper. With this difference, however, he might have got used to a few extra comforts, which would now become a part of his living—the use of tea, coffee, and sugar, a more comfortable bed to sleep in, a trifle better home to live in. All this can be admitted, but the simple fact is, the laborer's improvement nowhere near keeps equal pace with the improvements in manufacturing. The simple fact that in Ohio, in 1885, where modern production was at its best, the workman could spend for all purposes of subsistence less than fourteen cents per day per person in his family, shows that a stern economy was necessary, and the standard of comfort not remarkably high.

No one familiar with the statistics of labor can for one moment doubt the general truth of what

just stated. Supposing we take the cotton
y in our country as typical of all industries.
828 to 1880 the cost per pound of cotton
as reduced a trifle over fifty per cent.
rose during that period eighty-five per cent.
consumption of cotton cloth, which, in this
presents the standard of comfort, increased

Working time slightly decreased. In the
ne luxuries became necessities, and to a
ge extent were placed within the reach of
of small means. "And yet," says the Com-
er of Labor for the United States, from
eport we have drawn the foregoing, "should
tion be asked. Has the wage worker received

to reduce all labor to the simple plane of unskilled labor; as it lowers its quality, the price is lowered; competition becomes more intense along the lower levels. This follows because, in the first place, new inventions are constantly displacing laborers in every department of production. These men can not enter on a higher grade of work; they must enter on a lower grade if they can possibly crowd in, and this "crowding in" is getting harder all the time. In fact, material progress is acting on the world of labor to reduce it all to a common level.

Few have a correct idea of the displacement of labor by machinery within the last few years. It is unsafe to quote figures even from so late a source as the labor report of 1886, as progress has continued at a very great rate since. However, taking the commissioner's report for that time, we find that in the making of agricultural implements about sixty-three per cent. of labor has been displaced within the last fifteen years. The manufacture of boots and shoes offers some very wonderful facts in this connection. In one large and long established manufactory in one of the Eastern States the proprietors testify that it would require five hundred persons working by hand processes to make as many women's boots and shoes as one hundred persons now make with the aid of machinery—a

of eighty per cent. A large Philadelphia firm, engaged in the manufacture of children's shoes, states that the introduction of new machinery within the past thirty years has increased about six times the amount of work required. One large broom manufacturing firm in 1879 employed seventeen skilled men to manufacture five hundred dozen brooms per week. In 1885, only six years later, with nine men and the introduction of new machinery, the firm was producing twelve hundred dozen brooms weekly. This is an increase of eighty per cent. In the manufacture of carpets, some of the leading manufacturers in the country, and men of the largest experience, consider that the improvement in machinery within the past thirty years, taking weaving,

in the production of the same quality of goods. Consider, for instance, what the following statement means: "In the olden days in this country a fair adult hand-loom weaver wove from forty-two to forty-eight yards of common shirting per week. A weaver, tending six power looms in a cotton factory of to-day, would produce 1,500 yards a week." That is to say, these machines, with their one attendant, now do the work of 3,000 men. In the manufacture of flour there has been a displacement of nearly three-fourths of the manual labor necessary to produce the same product. In the manufacture of furniture from one-half to three-fourths only of the old number of persons is now required. In the manufacture of glass jars and some kinds of bottles the introduction of machinery has caused a displacement in the proportions of six to one. A saving of twenty-five per cent. is made in the manufacture of machines and machinery over the old hand methods. In the production of metals and metallic goods, long established firms testify that machinery has decreased manual labor thirty-three and one-third per cent. In 1876 certain kinds of tinware were made by the old processes by the gross, a skilled workman making a gross in about one and a half days. By the use of improved machinery the workman can now turn out five times as much product in the same time. One boy, run-

a planing machine, in turning wood-work for
al instruments, does the work of twenty-five

In the manufacture of paper, a well-known
n New Hampshire states that, by the aid of
nery, it produces three times the quantity,
the same number of employes, that it did
7 years ago. In the manufacture of wall
the best evidence puts the displacement in
oportion of one hundred to one.

i the manufacture of railroad supplies there
een a displacement of fifty per cent. of the
formerly required, while in some features of
anufacture of cars there has been a displace-
af three times the labor now employed. A
soap manufacturing concern very carefully es-

day than the old carders would in one week. Thus we see that, taking nearly every department of productive industry, we find a displacement of labor within the last few years. It is estimated the last generation has witnessed the power of machinery at least doubled. That means that relatively one-half of the workmen employed in all fields of production, wherein machinery plays a part, must have been displaced. What will these displaced men do? They can only seek work in lower levels, from the simple fact that they are not qualified for anything higher. This displacement is often spoken of as a temporary inconvenience only. To the men individually concerned it is much more than a temporary inconvenience, and we insist that, taking labor generally, this displacement tends to lower the grade of labor. For now let us consider in what fields labor will be increased. The manufacture of the improved machinery will of course give employment to a few workmen, but this can be only a small proportion to the labor displaced. If it were otherwise, machinery would be too costly for practical use. The other principal field, wherein extra work would be provided, would be in providing raw material. More cotton must be grown to provide for increased production of cotton goods; more iron must be mined for increased iron machines, etc. But, as

al rule, the preparation of raw material is of a lower grade. Then, besides, all these of labor are already full, yet an undue amount of competition must be thrown on them to provide work for those displaced by the machines.

There is another aspect to this case. The tendency of all advance in machinery is to replace the power of men with that of women and children. Technically considered, this is bad for a country. However and whenever it is necessary and common for all the members of a family, the mother and children, as well as the husband and father, to perform manual labor to support the family, as a consequence ignorance is more prevalent

The introduction of child labor steadily increased after machinery was extensively used, until legislation in this and other lands attempted to remedy the evils. In Ohio, for instance, a recent law on this subject yet remains to be tested. The old law against the employment of children under fourteen was largely a dead letter. In the commissioner's report for 1882 we learn that children, in the most cases under fourteen years of age, formed the following per cent. of the total number of hands employed in the various industries:

	PER CNT.
Woolen, cotton, and bagging mills.....	39
Glass works.....	36
Cigar and tobacco factories.....	32
Furniture factories.....	23
Coal mines.....	23
Cooperage factories.....	22
Paper mills, paper box, and bag factories.....	21

It is not necessary to point out the many evils following from such a course. The commissioner was informed that in the cigar factories of Cincinnati there were at work "hundreds of children under fourteen years of age who worked ten hours a day, and in most cases in the filthiest portion of the factories." In machine shops "small boys and girls are put to work who can not cipher their own earnings, and it is doubtful if they know the east from the west." From the manufacturing city of Springfield he learned that "there are a good

children employed in the different shops here. I have seen a boy go to work in one of the shops that I know is not over ten years old; he works ten hours each day. Where employes can get work in the shops they will not, as a rule, hire children.

In one of the largest furniture factories of the State about one-half of the work done was performed by children, ranging in age from ten to fifteen years. It is not necessary to remark that the improvement in machines is not responsible for this evil; still its tendency is unmistakably in that direction. We must not make the mistake of supposing Ohio is particularly backward in this respect. Nearly all the States in this Union

ber of hands necessary to produce a given result, but it substitutes workmen of less skill, and women and children for adult males.

The value of labor consists not alone in force, but in skill. It is clear, then, that the more the skill of the machine is increased, the more automatic it becomes in its movements, the less necessity there is for the exercise of skill on the laborer's part. Instead of the simple tools of former years, made productive by the skillful labors of men, we have highly complex and perfected machinery, tended by mere machine minders, who have hardly any incentive to increase their personal skill. Hence it is no wonder that nowadays comparatively few apprentices in the mechanical trades serve out their full time of apprenticeship, as can be seen in the tables of labor statistics for 1884. What is the use of working for apprentice wages when they might as well start up as journeymen?

We have endeavored in this chapter to write candidly on the question of the relation between machinery and labor. We have not been unmindful of the heavy indebtedness which our present enlightenment owes to the inventive ingenuity of man. We can not for one moment think of doing without them, or take any steps calculated to stop the onward march of progress. And yet we can but come to a very sad conclusion in regard to this

phant progress, this increasing victory of inventive ingenuity. According to the census of 1880 there are not far from 10,000,000 wage-ers in the United States, who may be classed as laborers or workmen, engaged in productive industries. The census of 1890 will certainly show a considerable increase over those figures. A immense number, then, of our fellow citizens are at view with alarm the tendency of advancing civilization. Any way you have a mind to look at the problem, given only our present system, progress in this direction means placing them more and more in the power of capital. In the first place, capital can make use of improved machinery; in the second place, slowly, but surely, machinery tends to reduce all labor to the level of unskilled

the decline towards some such state as that? What shall they do? They are not from choice anarchists, communists, or law-defying people, but they feel instinctively that something is wrong. They are right. Calm men, eminent divines, clear-headed professional men in the most advanced countries of the world are awakening to the fact that something must be done.

CHAPTER X.

COMPETITION AND COMBINATION.

Where we stand—The two stages of the present system—Age of competition—History of this stage—The doctrine of "Laissez-faire"—Effects of this doctrine—Modern legislation and this doctrine—Effects of competition—Individual self-love—Benefits of competition—Incentive to exertions—The abuse of competition—Competition lowers the grade of work—Individuals powerless to effect a change—Capital benefited by competition—The age of combination—Effects of large factories—A struggle for existence—The "trust"—Effects of trusts—Benefits of the plan—Effects of the new system—Competition—the logical outcome of competition—Conclusion.

procure its labor as cheaply as possible, thereby taking advantage of the necessities of the laborers, and of the peculiar nature of the commodity he had to sell. Then we considered the consequences of the second principle guiding the movement of capital; the necessity of making the work of the laborer as productive as possible. Finally, we have examined into the tendency of material progress, in the perfection of machinery, and discovered that capital could expect a far more abundant return than labor.

We now want to pay more attention to the development of the present system. There are two well-defined stages in its history. We are but just entering on the second stage. We can say that the one stage represents the youth of capital production; the second, its maturity. Perhaps, considering the striking metamorphosis undergone, the complete change of programme, it would be more appropriate to designate these two stages as the caterpillar and butterfly stages. It is capital in both cases; but here is an exception to the old rule that a "rose will smell as sweet by any other name," since capital is decidedly sweeter to its fortunate possessor in the second stage than in the first. In the first stage the principle of action is competition; in the second stage competition is banished—concentration is the watch-word. Yet the one stage

ally grows out of the first as the butterfly from the caterpillar, and capital enters on a new stage of existence which as far surpasses its predecessor in capacity to enjoy the good things of the world, flitting lightly from one coin of advancement to the other, instead of meekly crawling along as the one stage of insect life surpasses the other. However, we will take more prosaic ground and speak of the age of competition and the age of monopoly.

And first we want to consider the age of competition. It is necessary to make a little historical introduction. Adam Smith is regarded as the father

of the present system of political economy.

prevent him. Thus, while the Professor was writing his great work, "Wealth of Nations," and condemning such practices as this, the mechanic was bringing to perfection his steam engine, which was to make the industrial age, on which they were entering, a success.

This demand for freedom from all restrictions in industrial life, freedom of contract, of production, and of exchange, was supported by all the older class of economical writers in England, such as Smith, Ricardo, and Malthus. Their ideas in regard to state action was summed up in a French phrase, which is still to be seen in nearly every text-book on the subject (*Laissez-faire*), which may be freely translated by "let alone," or perhaps better still, "hands off." In other words, about all government was to do was to preserve national dignity, repress and punish crime, and guard the sacredness of contract. All it seemed to these writers necessary to do was to have perfect freedom of trade, both external and internal; to leave both employers and employes at perfect liberty to make such contracts as they saw fit, and all would be well. These writers were true to their convictions, as is shown in their after course in protesting and working against the passage of the factory acts; not because they did not sympathize with the workmen, but because they sincerely thought that this

matter in which the state should not interfere. This same view is still upheld by some of the ablest thinkers and writers of the day.

It was this position of the great economical writers on the question of state interference that has made the science of political economy the good will friend of the masses of the people. These scholarly men have plainly seen many evils of trade restriction. They knew that, as civilization had advanced, individual rights had been slowly evolved. They did not take notice of the fact that, with every advance in civilization, mankind was becoming more and more inter-dependent; that while each little group,

laws to provide for the safety and health of laborers in mines and factories, and there are not a few who think the state ought to go much further in this general direction.

All legislation of this kind would have been severely condemned by the older writers. But these more modern views we have set forth above are now in the ascendant. From what we have said we can at once see that competition would be held up as the one great virtue of the day. In industrial matters it was supposed to be the great cure-all for ills. If prices were too high, competition would soon bring them to the proper level. If one employer wanted to work his men unreasonably long hours, the supposition was that men would leave him and go to work for some more merciful master. In short, competition, freedom of contract, each one at liberty to look out for number one, were thought to be the elements of happy industrial progress. But, above all, competition was thought to be the great virtue. Accordingly, in the new industrial age then just beginning, competition was made the corner stone of progress. Such popular maxims as "Competition is the life of trade" came into common use. Under the banner of competition, then, the first stage of our present industrial system was passed. "Competition," says Toynbee, "we now recognise

neither good nor bad ; we look upon
 a great physical force, which
 destroyed, but may be controlled and
 very good. It is a force that may be
 for or for evil. That is what we want to
 start with. We now want to inquire
 worked for good, wherein for evil, and
 about to be discarded.

much in fault the older economists
 the beneficent result of competition,
 doubt as to the soundness of their views
 question. Stated in plain language,
 is that man is bound to look out for
 it is expressed in smoother language ;

They are each and all actively pursuing the course which they think will redound to their individual interest. To do this they make use of the mighty force of competition. Carried away by the desire to achieve their ends, they may enter on a course of actions detrimental to the welfare of the public. It must be evident, whenever it reaches this point, competition is an evil. Now, we insist that the tendency of competition is to bring about just such a state of affairs as this, or, better, we may say that is one side of the story, for we must remember that competition is a force that can be used so as to tend toward good or evil.

It is not necessary to dilate on the beneficent results of competition. Progress in nearly every direction is due to competition. Competition is the nurse, if not the parent, of all the useful arts, and it is the cause to which nearly every improvement that has taken place in man's lot is due. Competition is but another name of the struggle to either invent new wants for men, or to find new and cheaper ways of satisfying wants already existing. And this is the process on which civilization itself depends. Why is it that we now have comforts before undreamed of? Because competition has been active. Why is it that for a few cents we now have the doings of the world laid before us each day in the columns of the paper. The answer

gain be competition. One man or set of
ing to get ahead of another set, and so no
e spared to get the news of the day. And
the wonderful results of our present civili-
They have come into existence not because
e toiled to benefit others, but because scholars
died and experimented, inventors have con-
and executed, engineers have planned and
ed—in the hopes of arriving at some conclu-
t will benefit them personally. The excep-
this are so very few that they but prove the
fankind profits by these inventions and dis-
, and so it all works together to advance
culture.

aluminum as common as iron. Now, without further consideration, it must be evident that, as in the case of mechanical improvement in machinery, we can not afford to adopt any industrial system which will do away with this kind of competition. The benefits it confers are so vast that it must be retained.

As in the case of capital, as in the case of improved machinery, so now in the case of competition we find it is not the use, but the abuse, of competition that is working us injury. We have said that the best interests of the individual is not always the best interests of society. Now, the free play of individual competition, under our present industrial system, tends to force men, if they would succeed in business, to lines of conduct in many cases—in nearly all cases, in fact—which are against the best interests of the public. Why is this the case? Because a business must be conducted according to the methods of the least conscientious, the most unscrupulous—in short, the worst men engaged in that business. A few moments reflection will convince any one of the truth of these remarks.

Supposing a number of bakers engage in furnishing bread to the people. If one begins to adulterate his flour or employs soap-suds, alum, or other choice ingredients to make his bread light and fluffy, the others will simply have to fall into

methods in order to compete with him. If one commences to adulterate his pepper, spice, onions, etc., other dealers must follow suit. The consequence is that all branches of provision are adulterated. The same is true of all branches of production. That there are some few exceptions to the rule is of course admitted. In the commercial world, other things being equal, it is cheapness which wins the day. We are not going to pay twenty or thirty per cent. more for clothes, for example, to one merchant than what they can be had for of the man across the street.

If this is being the case, then, each man in any particular line of business must certainly adopt the means of doing business which are employed by his competitors. These measures may be harsh and

Individuals are powerless to effect a reformation in this respect. Suppose that nine men out of every ten engaged in manufacturing clearly saw the evils of undue employment of children, and stood ready to give such wages to adults as would almost dispense with child labor, and would enable their employes to live in comfort. Yet they are powerless as long as the tenth manufacturer has no scruples of this kind, and wants to crowd wages down to the lowest possible level. Their commodities come in competition with his commodities, and the purchasing public do not stop to inquire into the facts of the case; in fact, they do not concern themselves about it. It must be clear, without further argument, that the effect of competition is as we have stated. New illustrations of its truth must occur to all on reflection. Its results are before us. We have adulterated food, shoddy clothing, paper soles in boots and shoes, watered milk, and butter that can trace no line of descent from a cow. As is well known, labor has been disastrously affected by competition. This is because, since it is but a commodity, the effort will be made to cheapen it. And thus its value has been forced down. But to go over this ground would be but to re-state the facts as we found them in preceding chapters. It would be simply a review of the scenes of Coal Valley; a

er consideration of the case of little children should be at school or engaged in childish sports instead of working in a close factory; and make further acquaintance with the despairing ones who are—

“Sewing at once with a double thread
A shroud as well as a shirt.”

Now, it remains to be noticed that capital has benefited by competition at all times, both when it is a force acting for the good of mankind and when for evil. We have seen that the beneficial effects of competition are due to the fact that it incites individuals on to greater efforts, incites them to enter new and untried fields, and wonder

plaint to make of competition. Its maxim is that "competition is the life of trade," and the general impression is that all people have shared its beneficent action. But still the greater share of the benefits it confers has been on the side of capital; so capital has flourished, until, reaching a more vigorous stage of growth, it has discovered a more excellent way, and so we are brought to the stage of business concentration and combination.

It is useless to deny that the whole world of business has tended for a long time steadily in the direction of concentration. We have already noticed the growth of large sized farms as compared with small ones. If we compare the census years of 1860 and 1880, we notice the following table:

	1860.	1880.
Number employed in the average establishment in the U. S.....	9	10
Capital invested in the average establishment.....	\$7,192	\$10,991
Value of manufactured products of the average establishment.....	\$13,428	\$21,152

As to the number of men employed, we must remember that, owing to the improvement in machinery, the ten men of 1880 represent about the work of twenty men in 1860. The table shows the unmistakable tendency of capital to concentrate. We have no means of determining the facts of the case, but we have little doubt that the num-

large establishments, employing hundreds of men, representing a vast amount of capital, have increased very much faster than the number of small establishments. This would be but the counterpart in the industrial world of the growth of large farms in the agricultural world.

This process of concentration has been working ever since the modern industrial age began. The present writer sums up the process as follows: The present century has seen three great economic wonders accomplished: The invention of saving machinery, greatly multiplying the efficiency of labor in every art and trade; the application of steam power to the propulsion of ma-

workshops that the latter disappeared. Then one by one the large workshops were built up into factories or were shut up because the factories could make goods at less cost. So the growth has gone on, and each advance in carrying on production on a large scale has resulted in lessening the cost of the finished goods."

So far as only natural results are at work, it would seem as if by this cause alone the time would come when there would be comparatively few giant concerns engaged in manufacturing. No one can doubt that the larger the scale on which operations are carried on, the cheaper becomes the cost of production. The reverse of this picture certainly is the sharper division of the people into a relatively small number of rich people on the one side, and a large number of struggling poor on the other. But nowadays capital seems determined by a series of vigorous movements to anticipate that stage of events. In short, it proposes, by combination in the various lines of production, to do away with the evils of competition among themselves.

In considering the nature and tendency of competition, while describing it as a force capable of doing a great deal of good or of ill, we have not, as yet, described it as it is in truth—a struggle for existence, in which, in the midst of much suffer-

Each participant must go to the wall. The contest is accompanied by much waste and expense. It is certain that if five men are contending for a certain market, which can only support four men, one of them, in course of time, have to succumb. When he gives up the fight he is going to seek many ways to try and sustain himself. His laborers employed will have to bear the brunt of this struggle, for he will reduce the price as low as possible; and, remember, this reaction on the part of all his competitors. The public will have to bear a part of the loss, for he will, in many ways, lower the value of his goods, especially if he thinks it is

expense—come to some terms among ourselves? The people will have to have sugar anyway. We might just as well save expense and divide the profits." "Just so," exclaims another of the sharp-witted men present. "Besides, gentlemen, really it is extraordinary we did not think of this before. If we only won't fight each other, we can put the price of sugar at such a figure that it will afford us all a good living." "But," declares another, "it is easy for us to agree, perhaps; but no sooner will we get nicely agoing than others, seeing how prosperously we are getting on, will start up other refineries, and we will be just as badly off."

Then the first speaker explains that but few can start in the business anyway, owing to the large amount of capital necessary to invest; "and, besides, united we will have such an enormous amount of capital we can, if necessary, break him. We can put the price of sugar, if necessary, so low that he can not stand it; that need not bother us any." Further consideration makes it clear to them how they can reasonably explain to the public that an enormous saving will be made in operating expenses, and so a trust is formed. Competition is relegated to the rear. A new stage in capitalist production is reached. "United we stand" is to be the future maxim. The benefits of this new plan are so apparent, as far as capital is

ned, that nearly all available lines of production have now adopted it, though the trust is only decades old.

In a formal trust the different firms or companies have been competing with each other in production and sale of goods agree to place management of their several properties in the hands of a board of trustees. The powers of this board vary. As every one knows, the first of modern trusts was the Standard Oil Trust. It has been remarkably successful. This was followed by the Cotton Oil Trust. But the benefits of combination are so great that many forms of combination have been formed where the principal

is a result of the increase in the efficiency of capital in great masses, consequent upon the inventions of the last and present generations. In former epochs the size and scope of business enterprises were subject to natural restrictions. There were limits to the amount of capital that could be used to advantage by one management. To-day there are no limits, save the earth's confines, to the scope of any business undertaking; and not only no limits to the amount of capital that can be used by one concern, but an increase in the efficiency and security of the business proportionate to the amount of capital in it. The economies in management resulting from consolidations, as well as the control over the market resulting from the monopoly of a staple, are also solid business reasons for the advent of the trust."

We are apt to overlook the fact that considerable can be said about the "solid business reasons" for the formation of a trust. By managing all the works in a trust as if they formed but one property an enormous saving in expense is made. Only the best equipped mills and those most advantageously situated are kept running. The trust can afford to carry its own fire insurance. And they can buy the latest and most improved mechanical inventions. The immense packing houses in Chicago claim that their profits are made from the

ture of products which go to waste in plants where less capital is employed, as in the business of preparing meat for consumption done for the public at actual cost. The Standard Oil Company offered to prove before a committee in Congress, in 1888, that by the economies of the wholesale business they were carrying on, and the consequent cheapening in handling, through the use of pipe lines, tanks, cars, etc., they were enabled to sell oil at prices which saved the general public \$100,000,000 a year that it would undoubtedly be compelled to pay if their system was not adopted. Whatever truth or falsity there may be in the statement, the principle is certainly sound. As Pro

310 COMPETITION AND COMBINATION.

The first group of business enterprises which adopted the principle of combining, instead of competing, made it necessary for every other group, sooner or later, to do the same or perish. For as the corporation is more powerful than the individual, so the syndicate overtops the corporation. The action of governments to check this logical necessity of economical evolution can produce nothing more than eddies in a current, which nothing can check. Every week sees some new tract of what was once the great open sea of competition, wherein merchant adventurers used to fare forth with little capital besides their courage and come home loaded. Every week some new tract of this once open sea is inclosed, dammed up, and turned into the private fish pond of a syndicate."

And so trusts or combinations of various kinds have apparently come to stay. The many "solid business reasons" that can be given for them, however, mostly redound to the benefit of the trust, and not the consumer. Or, perhaps, it would be more just to say that the consumers by no means receive their proportionate share of the benefits. But we may be perfectly sure that in the new order of events capital will take advantage of every opportunity it can with safety take to get as great returns as possible. And the far-reaching effects of this action are very great. Mr. Baker, in his

"Monopolies and the People," analyzes the case of the Linseed Oil Trust, formed in 1887. It states that the price of oil previous to the formation of the trust was thirty-eight cents a gallon. The trust claimed that at this rate there was absolutely no profit in the transaction. It is clear that if the trust saved the enormous expense incident to competition, and the price of oil was advanced to thirty cents a gallon, the trust could realize a large profit. It is estimated that 30,000,000 gallons of linseed oil were used by the people. Therefore, there is a clear profit of at least four million dollars.

For consumers, the people generally, do not

Such is the mutual dependence of all people in society that a trust of this nature is able to levy a tax on us all. If trusts were content to take only the natural advantages of this new method of work—that is to say, be content with the great saving in expense and with the lessened cost of production, due to the fact that the production is on a vastly greater scale—there would not be so much room for complaint. But the temptation is almost irresistible to take advantage of the monopoly in their hands to raise the price all the public will stand.

So few people realize that combinations of this kind, for the suppression of competition, is the inevitable result of our present system, the stage of evolution next to be reached, that they think all that it is necessary to do is to have the law-making power pass a few laws to kill the whole movement. Or they may suppose a change in the present laws will suffice as a change in the tariff laws in this country. It is, perhaps, sufficient to say that all legislative actions of this scope can at best have but a temporary effect. Progress will always take place along the lines of least resistance. The expense in production is so much less, the margin of profit so much larger, that it would be as great a step backwards to return to the old way as to banish the use of improved machinery. Equally

it to disclaim against the individuals of the combination. We might with equal success put against the manufacturer who produces the improved machinery. They must adopt these tactics or go to the wall.

It is important to see that every force of the new industry is hurrying on the coming era in which competition is to be done away with that it may be able to give this point earnest attention. It is not that it is easier for two people to come to an understanding with each other about some arrangement to work for their mutual interest, than it would be for one hundred and one. In other words, the fewer the people who are competing, the easier for them to come to a combination. Now, it is evident, on reflection, that many causes are at work to diminish the number of people who would naturally compete with each other. In the first place, more is produced than formerly. This is largely due to the improvement in machinery and tech-

intense, and consequently more wasteful, combinations will be formed to stop this evil. The instinct of self-preservation will suffice in this instance. Now it is evident competition becomes more bitter as the number competing grows less. If but two men are engaged in a certain business, and make up their minds to fight each other, the competition will be more intense, bitter, and wasteful than if a thousand men are competing for the business. Also the greater the amount of capital invested, the more bitter will grow the fight. Competition between railroads is simply suicidal. The amount of capital invested is so great that they stop at no limits in their fights. Concerns with but a few thousands invested will draw the line when it comes to doing business at a loss. Where millions are invested the real fight is only just begun when that point is reached.

On reflection, then, we see that the whole tendency of advancing culture not only makes it easier for combinations to take place, but is actually forcing the movement forward. Study the problem in any light you please, and the conclusion is the same. Competition has served its day. Combination is the watch-word of the present. Every one knows that we have not overstated the case. Every one knows that combination of some sort has been formed in nearly every avenue of trade. Indeed, lines

industry which but a few years ago could not be controlled by trusts are now about perfecting some combination. In the case of railroads we have witnessed a growth of great systems, a recent consolidation, and yet the roads have been forced to take steps. The Interstate Commerce Law, which was intended to keep alive competition among railroads, on the contrary, rapidly pushing forward the process of combination. Eminent railroad men are now laying plans for uniting all the railroads of the country under one management. The coal industry in this country is rapidly passing into the hands of a few large concerns, such as the St. Louis Consolidated Coal Company, which virtually

a combination was formed of the mines in that section, and the highest price is charged for the ore which can be obtained without driving the customer to more distant markets for his supply. Some of these mines have paid as high as ninety per cent. on the capital stock, which is watered to begin with.

Beginning with the producers of staples, such as sugar, the combination plan tends to grow broader and broader in its scope. For instance, in Canada we have the Wholesale Grocers' Guild, which embraces nearly all of the wholesale grocers, enables its members to buy such staples as sugar, starch, baking powder, and tobacco cheaper than outside parties can. It fixes the price which retail dealers are to charge in their turn, so that in effect all the grocers in Canada are brought into a trust. So in New York there are two associations of wholesale grocers who seek by similar means to regulate the retail trade. In a similar way we have in some of the Western States business men's associations, which propose to regulate the retail trade of the State.

To show how rapidly this principle spreads, we need only to say that in a recent work on Monopolies and Trusts it was deemed impossible that the agricultural interests of this country could ever be organized in a trust, the motto, almost, of

COMPETITION AND COMBINATION.

farmers' movement being "down with

Yet we now read of the proposed formation of a huge alliance trust, embracing the members of Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, and who propose to regulate the grain and bery. This is by far the wisest course to pursue. Combinations are the necessity of the day. Do not take advantage of them?

This chapter could, of course, be prolonged to any length, but the main points we wish to bring forward have now been fully stated. We have tried to be fair, and have made no statement unsupported by facts. We have tried to show that competition is not a thing of the past. Every force of

CHAPTER XI.

RESULTS.

Test of preceding statements—The wealth of Great Britain—Table—Darkest England—Contrast with richest England—The working of this system in the United States—Difference in our condition—Examples of great wealth—Table of results—Conclusion to be drawn—Congestion of wealth increasing—Great fortunes a menace to our national prosperity—The general tendency of our present industrial system—Parallel between our present development and Villanage—Quotations from Daniethorpe—Words of warning—Hope for the future—Who are interested in this matter—The moral side of the question.



THE PRESENT industrial system has been in existence but a short time. Slowly gathering strength, it seized on the use of steam and entered on a new stage of development. Since then not only has the amount of capital in the world grown at an enormous rate, but at the same time its power has increased at a nearly equal pace. We have asserted that the irresistible tendency of progress, as at present conducted, is to concentrate wealth in the hands of but a few people—that is, as compared to the great mass—and the consequent ever increasing gulf between the rich and the poor. Now, before passing on to consider





THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

that must be taken to remedy this, perhaps it would be well to take a more careful survey of our present surroundings to see if we have really experienced the evils that, according to theory, ought to fall us. If so, to what extent are we already relieved? If on the other hand, an examination discloses no such state of affairs as we have said to follow, why, then, our fears are unfounded and we need not concern ourselves any longer with this serious problem. Everything is moving on in the best way for it to go. So then, first let us inquire is it true that wealth and poverty are both increasing? Is it true, and will figures show, that the present civilization means that for every one c

volume of her trade. The commercial supremacy of Great Britain was laid on an enduring foundation early in the eighteenth century by the celebrated East India Company, but it went ahead with a sudden bound when the manufacturing era was fairly opened.

As a result there is a vast amount of wealth concentrated in England, and especially in London. It has accumulated at an enormous rate during the last quarter of a century, and bids fair to do this at an accelerated rate in the future. England as a nation has reached that stage in her accumulation of capital where she can not begin to spend her income. The whole commercial world is literally mortgaged, pledged in pawn to England—not to the nation, but to English capitalists. The very corners of the earth are ransacked to find a field of investment; not of the principal, but of the yearly and ever increasing income of English capital. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been invested in South America, other hundreds in this country. Any meritorious scheme can secure capital to back it in London. If a new railroad is to be built, the capital can be raised in London, provided it is deemed a safe investment. Bonds of all classes, provided they are good, can be floated in London. An unlimited amount of money can be raised to buy up flourishing breweries. Coal

iron foundries, great and successful manufacturing establishments are eagerly bought up by states of British capitalists. What is true of United States is true of Mexico and all the countries of South America. Egypt is securely in the grasp of the British money lenders, and so is

that the end is to be can not be a matter of if we allow things to go on. Many of the trusts and syndicates that we spoke of in the preceding chapter are largely foreign. Says Edward Taylor: "Our new industrial lords are largely foreigners. The British are invading the United States in these days with a success brilliantly in contrast with their former failures in that line. It is a wonder in these days when the political basis

mously there can be no doubt. It has also become greatly concentrated. There are some very rich individuals, the Duke of Westminster with about \$50,000,000, being the most wealthy. Mudhall estimates the distribution of wealth to be as follows:

There are 222,500 families whose average wealth is..	\$125,145
There are 1,824,400 families whose average wealth is..	4,872
There are 4,629,100 families whose average wealth is..	413

This table has quite a comfortable look. It means, however, that one-thirtieth part of the population of Great Britain owns about two-thirds of the national wealth. And just as the first item tells us nothing of the enormous wealth of some of the nobility, so the last item gives us no idea of the extreme poverty of a vast number of people. One of the noblest Englishmen that ever lived, General Booth, has lately given us an idea of what "Darkest England" really is. It affords a most somber background for the brilliant picture of "Richest England." There are 100,000 people in England who are homeless—have absolutely no home they can call their own. In London alone 300,000 people are described as starving; 222,000 are next door to starvation, and nearly 400,000 are said to be wretchedly poor—that is, they can but barely get enough to keep soul and body together. In all, it is estimated that 300,000 men, women,

children, one-tenth of the total population of Britain, or a total population about the equal of Ireland, is living in the deepest distress for the most necessities of life. A vast despairing multitude in a condition nominally free, but really enslaved. This, too, in a country where the income of the wealthy classes is so very large that only a small portion of it can be spent. The rest is sent hither and thither to find an investment.

There is contrast enough surely. London so great that it is supplying capital to the world; but in the midst of luxurious London, with its massive mansions and princely palaces, we have also poverty-stricken London. Speaking of the homeless poor

of waste paper by the way of taking the chill off the stones; but the majority are too tired even for that, and the nightly toilet of most consists of first removing the hat, swathing the head in whatever old rag may be doing duty as a handkerchief, and then replacing the hat." General Booth suggests that as they have in London a Lord Mayor's Day, when all the well-fed, fur-clad city fathers go in stage-coaches through the town, why not have a Lazarus Day, in which the starving out-of-works and the sweated, half starved "in-works" of London should crawl in their tattered raggedness, with their gaunt, hungry faces, and emaciated wives and children, a Procession of Despair through the main thoroughfares, past the massive houses and palaces of luxurious London?

It is not our object to picture forth the horrors of London poverty. We only want to furnish a companion picture for the wealth of England. Now, five hundred years ago such a condition of things as we have described was unknown. It must have come into existence because the industrial system on which we were then entering was favorable to it. We have spent some time in examining the working of this system, and have pointed out that just such consequences must follow whenever capital and labor were divided, and labor became a mere commodity. History and theory here unite. Let

RESULTS.

See if the same results follow in the U
es.

It must, of course, be evident that any
ge in the condition of the mass of our p
d only recently have shown itself. The v
ory of what is now the United States is contr
in the span of less than three centuries.

as brief a time as one hundred years' ag
the larger portion of what is now the U
es was in reality an unknown country.
on has ever previously grown at our ra
th. We are now a nation of nearly sixty
on inhabitants. Our mining and manufa
interests are well developed. Population
eased many fold. Our agricultural inte

not mean to say in either case that it is not going to increase in population, wealth, and riches, but we mean it is no longer a new country; it has passed its period of youth. Consequently, if our industrial system is to be followed by any evil consequences, we would expect it to show such results but recently. We might also remark that, as we are accustomed to doing everything on such a grand scale in this country, we will probably excel in this direction. Our rich men will be richer than in any other country; and while our poorer classes can not be poorer than they are in England, for instance, and live, we may find some way to excel even in this matter.

Thomas G. Sherman, of New York, who has interested himself in the distribution of wealth in the United States, tells us there is one individual in the United States worth at least \$200,000,000. That two brothers, whose property is held as a unit together, own even a larger amount than this. There are two other estates worth at least \$150,000,000 each. One fortune of \$70,000,000, two of \$60,000,000, and at least five of \$50,000,000. It must be admitted that this is a pretty respectable showing for a nation where the system of capitalist production could hardly get agoing until the last forty years. We evidently do not propose to let England outdo us in this matter. Most of

RESULTS.

enormous fortunes are the outgrowth of forty years. Before that time a man worth a million dollars was looked on as a curiosity. Mr. [unclear] gives a table which we will reproduce as it are in the United States—

70 families whose average wealth is.....	\$37,500,000
90 " " " " " "	11,500,000
180 " " " " " "	8,000,000
135 " " " " " "	6,800,000
360 " " " " " "	4,600,000
735 " " " " " "	2,300,000
1,000 " " " " " "	1,250,000
1,000 " " " " " "	650,000
1,000 " " " " " "	375,000
1,000 " " " " " "	230,000
1,500 " " " " " "	165,000

ple. Now, we must remember, from the very nature of things, for every individual who amassed an enormous fortune scores of others became poor. It is certainly clear that a fortune, rolling up into the millions, gathered in the course of a few years, does not represent wealth created by the individual possessors of these fortunes, but it represents a diversion, by some means or other, of wealth before in general circulation into the pocket of the lucky speculator or capitalist. We know what the means employed by some men are. It includes such practices as buying up courts and juries, bribing legislators, log-rolling schemes of numerous kinds, and, above all, by stock gambling.

It seems the more we study the problem the clearer it becomes that every force of modern civilization is pushing on this stage of congestion of wealth. The gulf is growing wider and deeper between the few rich people and the mass of comparatively poor people on the other hand. We have no statistics at hand to show that the mass of people are getting poorer, yet we have little doubt that is the facts of the case. If we compare the census of 1850 and 1880, we discover that while during the thirty years the population had a little more than doubled, the national wealth had increased more than five and one-half times. This extra increase was almost wholly confined to manu-

ing, mining interests, railroads, telegraph lines, and petroleum. Agriculture just about its own, the farmers' wealth a little more than its own. But in every one of the industries we named, monopolies, trusts, and forms of combination are especially active. All processes seem to be directed for transferring wealth from the pockets of the general public to the individual pockets of capitalists and speculators.

Clearly it needs no one to point out that these enormous fortunes are a standing menace to the security of any land. The mere force of circumstance tends to throw every advantage in the way of holders of large fortunes for increasing th

graph lines, telephone and electric light plants, our mines, and to a large extent our factories, which were once held by private owners, are now controlled by corporations whose shares are quoted on the exchanges, and are consequently subject to a forced variation in value, according as the big holders wish to force them up or down. When the ownership of a property is once brought into this channel, it is no longer a suitable investment for the man of small means. In other words, at the stage at which we have now arrived, the workman who has by pinching economy got together a few hundred dollars, as well as the more successful man who has a few thousand dollars, are practically shut out of the most profitable channels of investing their money. They dare not place them where it may suit the convenience of some moneyed kings to depress the market until their little stock is gone.

It must also be clear that if it be true these large and rapidly growing fortunes represent a successful switching of wealth in general circulation into private channels, then there must be far less money for the mass of the people to spend for the various commodities they need. On this point Mr. Baker, in his work on Monopoly, says: "We are confronted of late years with the strange spectacle of factories and mills shut down for months at a time, of markets which, at various times, are glut-

with every sort of commodity. All sorts of remedies are given, all sorts of remedies are suggested. Where is the true one? With the exception of a few special cases, the fault is not that there are no people who want the goods. Probably nine families out of every hundred would buy more if they had the money to buy with. In many cases the lack of money to buy with is due to the fact that the bread-winners are out of employment because of the glutted markets and idleness.

Now, combine this fact that the holders of property are in receipt of incomes so great that in many cases, they are quite unable to spend them. That this increase is largely backed up to wait

still lower division of impoverished and needy people? The whole system tends to break down the manhood of men. With every advance in learning, the situation of those who have nothing but their labor to depend on becomes even more precarious; and this class, by the way, is just the class that is bound to increase proportionally faster as time goes on. Continued improvement in machinery is bound to reduce skilled laborers to this level, and trusts, monopolies, and combinations of various kinds are all working towards that common end. The general impression is that our agricultural interests are falling behind in the race. Unless steps are taken soon to counteract this tendency, we believe the yeoman farmers of this country will as utterly disappear as they did in England.

A somewhat singular parallel presents itself in considering the tendency of the present times, and the history of the English village community. As we have told it in these pages, we must recall the fierce warriors who crushed the crumbling power of Rome, those who scorned to bend the neck to a lord. They could not foresee the tendency of the institutions they were adopting. They permitted the chieftancy to become hereditary; they permitted customs to become binding. In the course of a few centuries the great mass of these once haughty and independent warriors were actually serfs.

belonged, together with their land, to the
y. Collectively, like Esau of old, they sold
birthright for a mess of pottage. They re-
into the hands of their lord the guarding of
interests. They did not foresee that, as a
for his services, he would lay claim to them
eir land. They wished for peace and qui-
they received the peace and quietude of

took some centuries of slow advance to rem-
is evil, and then we entered on our present
. The laborer sells himself daily, hourly,
, or monthly to his employer. Labor wants
nsured a certain amount. Capital takes the

whose condition will more and more approach serfage.

We write these words with a full realization of their meaning. We know that earnest thinkers of all shades of politics and creeds recognize in a general way their justice. Wordsworth Danisthorpe, a very conservative writer, sums up the situation in England in the following language, and his words are equally applicable to the United States and to the world at large: "When the body politic is in an unstable equilibrium; when the fabric of society is shaken to its foundation; when all the signs of the times point to imminent change, for better or for worse—then the true statesman is he who, before the inevitable crash comes, can so forecast the resultant of apparently conflicting forces as to be able to guide them at once and without unnecessary waste of energy and time into their destined channel. The navigator can not make the wind, and the statesman can not create the social current, but both can so utilize the force supplied by nature as to make for salvation rather than wreck. To-day presents such an occasion. To sit still and 'wish for the day' means ruin. All over the civilized world he that hath ears to hear may listen to the mutterings of the coming storm. Riots in America; riots in France; riots in Belgium; riots in Holland; riots even in tranquil London—all origi-

not with the scum and refuse of society, with honest, despairing workers clamoring for bread and for work, and not knowing whither to turn. Depressions in trade of an intensity and duration unprecedented in the history of industry. Here a strike, brought to a close by the starvation of the strikers, only to be followed by another, due to impossible wages. There a strike, rendered necessary by vanishing profits. Everywhere discontent and wretchedness, aggravated by class envy and glaring inequalities of distribution. All these and a hundred other signs point to revolution. It must come. It is for us to decide whether it shall be short, sharp, and bloody, or peace-

men who stand passively by to see the lives of their wives and mothers and sisters crushed out of them beneath the car wheels of Juggernaut Plutax? And this, too, in an age of cheap literature, of gratis education, of rapid communication, and of free meeting? Is it that the Englishman of to-day has too much sense and too little pluck for revolution of the 'blood and iron' type? Or is it that he has hopes of a peaceful revolution, and courage to wait for it? But, first, what is the explanation of this singular economic system? In accordance with what principles of justice does one of two partners take all the profits, and the other none?"

At this point our author goes over the ground that has now become familiar to us—shows how the laborer can only hope to receive what will support him.

"So that whatever a workman may suppose himself to be saving and putting away over and above his cost of living must not be mistaken for profit. It is merely the refunding of the money spent on his own youth and training, or a sinking fund to pay for the unremunerative youth and training of his children, from whichever point of view we choose to regard it. In neither case can it be regarded as profit. He has no more to call his own at the end of the process than he had at the beginning. He has his own body for what it is

so also the capitalist has his engine and capital. True, he has been fed and kept in the process, but so has the engine been repaired and supplied with fuel. In all respects the economic position of the two is identical. The laborer and the engine are treated precisely alike. Then in what respect is the free laborer better than the slave? Let us face this question directly. If we do not, posterity will. The answer is that, economically, the free laborer is no better than the slave. In one respect he is better than the slaves or even the horses of his day.

In the case of costly slaves on a sugar plantation, and in the case of an English capitalist's factory, it is found more economical to keep them in good condition and to get a moderate amount of work out of them, rather than to overwork them and buy new ones when they

others with despair. It is for us to project the converging rays of the past into the future, and with that light predict the outcome. Signs of a new order of industrialism are already apparent on all sides. The workers are chafing under the unfair distribution of wealth which clearly results from the present arrangement. Even the orthodox economists are trying hard to explain it away, while a few independent thinkers are busy seeking for the foundation of the new order. There is little room for doubt that a nation which tolerates a distribution of wealth so glaringly disproportionate to individual effort as the present system entails is guilty of a national sin. Something must be done, and done quickly, to rectify the anomaly, and the question of the day is what?"

In such a question as this, we can not make a greater mistake than to suppose the only people interested are a few laborers. Society as a whole is suffering from the system. The moderate business men, the professional men, farmers and laborers—fully seventy-five per cent. of our population—are directly concerned, and in a wider sense still all are concerned. The moderate business men and the professional men can prosper only as the general community prosper.

We have not as yet said much directly bearing upon the agriculturists of our land. This because

ated to make as plain as possible that all are
ing alike from the evils of the system. The
g up of enormous fortunes certainly means
agging down to a lower level another and
r mass. There is no escape from this con-
n. Farmers, business men, and laborers must
ffer in order that a few may heap up untold
. Such a state of things can not continue.
ains only to consider the nature of the reme-
roposed, to see what has been done in this
on, and point out other steps that remain to
en.

ere we will only express ourselves generally

forms. There are so many points of resemblance between the customs of the Gilds and those of the ancient gens that it shows conclusively the people had a lively knowledge of the latter. Now this change from tribal society to political society was a necessary change if civilization was to advance, and so men kept at the problem until an enduring change was made. So it will be in the present case.

We are not to be discouraged at the difficulties in our way, nor at the thought that at present we do not know the best way to proceed. Probably during the eleventh and twelfth centuries many far-seeing men, who greatly deplored the evil of villanage, could not imagine how it was to be done away with. Yet in a few centuries the thing was done. The world moves at a marvelously accelerated rate of speed toward any given goal now, and we will probably not have to wait a century or so before we can experience relief from our present economic ills. But yet it will take time, the millennium is not going to come with a rush.

We have taken a great step in advance when we once clearly perceive the nature and dimensions of the evil. It is not the result of local and temporary causes. It does not arise from tariff laws, or methods of taxation or financial measures. The most we can say in reference to these laws is that they may or may not help forward the general

RESULTS.


It may or may not be necessary to modify them greatly, but we will surely miss the heart of the matter if we fail to recognize that the present system is an historical development. We must not recognize the fact that capital and labor have become completely separated, and as a consequence labor is a mere commodity, and as a far consequence the power of capital to reduce all wages by labor to a common level. This process places in the hands of capital the power to take the greater share of advantage accruing from increasing knowledge in scientific matters. In short, as now constituted, the trouble arises from the system itself. A reform must strike at the very root

world has seen more nations destroyed by wealth and luxury than by poverty and plain living. If we have great, free manhood, we can carry vast wealth nobly; if we have not, it will crush us. There are higher ambitions than to be rich. The study of economics, however important, is not man's noblest study. The mightiest nation is the one that rests upon the strongest moral basis. If we make everything of wages and profits, of course we will fight over their proper division. See what the struggle is already doing. It is lowering profits and wages. It is making slaves of rich and poor alike. It is creating desires that easily outrun our marvelous powers of production, and burdens that even our steam power can not carry. When is the struggle to end? It can not end while society puts so high an estimate upon money. It can end only by a moral upheaval that shall lift all classes, capitalists and laborers, to a higher moral plane, where we can see the mighty truth contained in the words of the great Master of the modern world: 'Man shall not live by bread alone.'"

PART III.

Consideration of Some of the Steps
Taken by Labor to Counteract
The Tendency of Capital.

CONTAINING



"THE idea that the discontent and unrest among the industrial classes of the present day are due mainly to the influence of agitators, or to any merely superficial causes, is a mistaken one. If this were the whole or principal cause, the discontent would hardly be worth noticing. But one can not meet and talk with them long before becoming aware of the fact that agitators have comparatively little to do with the matter. There is a profound and almost universal feeling among them that the laborer (whether mechanical or agricultural, whether he works on a farm as its owner or in a shop as one of the hands) does not receive his fair share of the product."

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

CHAPTER XII.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Changes in Public Opinion—Civilization can not be Stat
Trade Unions—Results in Great Britain—Slow Progress
Combination Laws—Early Difficulties—The Dorchester C
Trade Unions Are—Unions of Skilled Labor—Success
Movement—Results of the Movement—Confederation of Tra
Unions in this Country—The Ten Hours Agitation—P
the Movement in this Country—Legal Difficulties in
—Civil War in this Country—Brotherhood of Locomot
ers—History of this Organization—Confederation of La
in this Country—The Knights of Labor—History of
ent—Aims of Labor Movement—Conclusion.

It is this principle of human nature which has served in times past to alter the whole frame work of society if necessary to further the public good, that we can safely rely upon to tide us over the difficulties of the day. It has been active in the past, it is active to-day. Just as civilized man is not by choice a criminal, a tramp, beggar or anarchist, so they do not wish to plunge society into evils they know not of, they willingly suffer much, but such a state of affairs sooner or later provides its own remedies.

The older writers on geology used to picture forth wonderful scenes of great natural convulsions, great mountain changes were supposed to have been formed by some wonderful upheaval of subterranean forces. Continents were supposed to be elevated or depressed by earthquake shocks. But now that they have learned more of nature's ways they tell us that these great changes have slowly and with a certain majesty of movement, gone forward through the flight of many years. It is even so in social organization. Social changes are only made slowly and gradually. The free village community only gradually sank into a state of serfage, and only gradually did they emerge therefrom. Only gradually did the evils inherent in our present industrial system come plainly to view. Only gradually will they be eliminated. But at the same time we must remember that the world moves more rapidly now towards any given goal than at any previous time in history. This is rendered

able by the general diffusion of knowledge and great facilities we possess of spreading abroad the of the day.

It is not possible for civilization to be stationary. Stand still is to retrograde. It follows, of course, the evils of a system often suggest the means of re. So of the present industrial system. Causes been at work to modify the evils. Society has ted new plans and methods of work, and there many who think that all the evils may be reme- by a further extension of the means at present oyed. So we must first see what has been done dy. Every one knows the story of the bundle of s, singly, they were easily broken, collectively, were able to withstand the efforts of those who ed to break them. This is the lesson that labor

and needs, and understands better what steps are to be taken to make their success assured. But to obtain the greatest benefits of organization the numerous trade organizations are combining in a great confederation of trades. Probably, no organization has achieved what its enthusiastic founders hoped that it would. But their educative influence has been enormous. And the end is not yet. They continually point the way to future actions. They educate their numbers in the power of self-direction, self-protection and self-control.

Trade Unions have been brought to great perfection in Great Britain. This was but natural, for that country was the one where the capitalist mode of production was brought to such an early perfection, and consequently there is where we would look for organization of laborers to take the first steps. Strange as it may seem to us, Trade Unions, or the right of men engaged in trade to organize for self-protection rested under various legal disabilities in England until 1871. If we will recall the history of labor, knowing that but a few centuries ago laborers were actually serfs, it will not strike us as strange that the first legislation was for the purpose of controlling labor. The so-called upper classes of the time seemed to think they had a perfect right to interfere, to keep labor under restraint. We have stated that in the fourteenth century, after the outbreak of the plague, legislation sought to prescribe the rate of

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

es. This tendency or prejudice long sustained as difficult for the law making power to see that as such had the right to plan and work for production.

Then there was another reason to which we have alluded in the preceding chapter.

Both the writers of his school thought that combinations and associations of all kinds interfere with the free action of the market, and they certainly would with the free action of the market, were an evil to be avoided. We cannot

understand the course of events. No one could have foreseen the present industrial system fairly got a head start, the consequent gathering of the workmen into combinations of laborers were formed to resist the encroachment of the manufacturers.

the first trade unions. While in many re-

to convict summarily and impose two months' imprisonment upon workmen who should enter into any such agreement. The same punishment was to be meted out to those who endeavored to influence the action of other workmen. These laws while preventing open combinations could not prevent secret agreements. We are not to understand that they were dead letter laws. In 1805 three linen-weavers were sent to jail for three months, one of them for simply carrying notes from one place to another requesting assistance. In 1816 three carpenters were sentenced to one month's imprisonment each, and two to twelve months' each.

To show how prejudiced the people of the day were, it is only necessary to state that not content with the severity of the laws, the most unfair advantage were taken of workmen. In 1818, for instance, the weavers of Lancashire had some trouble with their employers. A compromise was finally agreed upon and a meeting was called and deputies were sent from various parts to meet at Lancashire. "The president of this meeting, Robert Ellison, who had advocated and recommended the compromise, and also a subsequent resolution, which was favorable to the employers, attended not only with the consent but at the request of his employer, Mr. White. A fortnight after the resolution had been agreed to, and all the men had gone back to their work, the president, Ellison, and the two secretaries, Richard Kaye and

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Robert Pilkington, were arrested. They were tried on an indictment at common law for conspiracy, and being sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. Though his own employer in open court gave evidence on his behalf, and stated moreover that he recommended the resolution. The other was sentenced to two years' imprisonment each they all suffered. Such were the combinations, and such the conduct of some of the employees. The history of these persecutions and contentions, the consequent privations endured by the workers for the purpose of securing their independence, the right to combine to advance their interests, is a story of heroism. In spite of oppression and crushing, of legal enactments the most string-

termine questions of wages, etc., but unfortunately this provision only applied to the men actually present at the meeting. All meetings or agreements whatever for the purpose of affecting the wages or hours of work of persons not present at the meeting or parties to the agreement, were still held to be conspiracies. So were all agreements for controlling a master in the management of his business, as regards the persons he employed, or the machinery which he should use. So also were all agreements not to work in company of any given person, or to persuade other persons to leave their employment, or not to engage themselves. In fact nearly every act of a workman as a member of a Trade Union could be made a conspiracy.

Here again we can refer to one of the most atrocious labor persecutions of history. In 1834—less than sixty years ago—six laborers at Dorchester were sentenced to seven years transportation for the crime of combination. This came near precipitating a storm. The best men of the day at once took sides with the laborers. Over four hundred thousand people attended one indignation meeting. A procession some six miles in length, composed of fifty thousand workmen, waited on the Prime Minister with a petition with nearly two hundred and seventy-five thousand signatures, praying for the men's pardon. It was finally granted, but in the meanwhile the men had been hurried off to Australia, cruelly treated, and

ly and as slaves for a guinea a head. Some did not hear of their pardon until years after, and then only by accident.

After this there were thirty-five years gradual growth on the part of trade unions. There was a great deal of friction during that period. Numerous commissions, trials and tinkering with the law. The cause of labor was gaining all the time. In 1871, then in 1875, all the old laws of sedition and conspiracy were swept aside. The history of the long conflict here briefly outlined, so well known as it should be. It contains a lesson for all classes. It teaches law-makers that oppressive laws are ineffectual as well as dangerous.

of their members, they also make arrangements for mutual assistance in case of sickness, accident, death, out of work, inability to work on account of age, loss of tools by fire, etc. They accomplish this latter purpose by means of contributions, each member of the union paying a definite weekly sum, which entitles him to all the benefits set forth in the societies rules.

The fund for the out of work is one of the most important funds. Owing to many causes workmen may be out of employment. His wants stay with him if his work and wages do not. He is allowed a certain amount out of the fund to relieve his pressing necessities. Thousand of families in Great Britain alone are kept from applying for public assistance. The total sum which has been thus applied is enormous. The amalgamated society of engineers in the thirty-one years of their history, ending in 1890, applied for this purpose seven and a half million dollars. This, let it be noted, does not include the sums devoted to other purposes, such as sickness, death, accidents, etc. Certainly a very great amount of distress has been thus diverted, and much of suffering has been alleviated.

Each trade or industry has its own union; these may be either local or general unions. Local unions are those confined to a particular town or district. Almost all trade societies were originally local unions. Some trades, like the hardware trade for instance, is entirely confined to one particular section. A gen-

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

union has a common center, but branches in various parts of the country. They include all trades found quite generally over the country, as well as some of the more exclusive trades. Many of the larger unions are now amalgamated societies. It was adopted by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers in 1851 to denote the consolidation of all branches of the engineering trades under a common executive, with a common fund, and governed by a common code of rules, applicable to all alike. It now means the gathering into one general union of all local and independent unions of a particular trade, such, for instance, as the amalgamated societies of carpenters and joiners.

Formerly trade unions were almost wholly confined to the

reproach; now the movement is even fashionable. In parliament they are treated with consideration and respect. The proposals of their leaders are no longer derided and dismissed with scorn and contempt; their representatives are not talked at as formerly, but are consulted upon measures and matters relating to labor.

There is scarcely a town in Great Britain in which there are not several of these unions or local branches of the larger ones whose seat of government is situated in one of the great centers of industry. The total number of independent societies cannot be far short of three thousand. In London, Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Nottingham, Glasgow, Dublin and other towns they form a perfect net-work of organized forces, existing for good or for evil side by side, and which, on emergency, can be called into active operation, backed by immense material resources and voting power. So numerous are these trade societies that no single trade long in existence of which one even heard the name, is without its union, and even the names of some of them are unknown to the public.

The total number of workmen in all grades who are thus combined cannot be less than fifteen hundred thousand, over half a million have been represented, directly or indirectly, at some of the annual trade union congresses. The annual income must very nearly approximate to ten million dollars and their total reserve funds are hardly less than that sum, for

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

ten societies alone have a balance in hand of a million and a half million dollars. Even this, however, does not represent the entire actual and available resources of these industrial organizations, for the unions can count upon the moral support, and in case of need the temporary contributions of vast numbers of workmen who are not regular members of the society. For practical purposes, therefore, the unions may be regarded as representing the fighting strength of the whole body of the skilled workmen, inasmuch as their numbers have been steadily increasing in numbers, in extent, and in compactness of organization during the last few years, so that the flower of Britain's artisan and working population are now embraced within their ranks.

tions of ways and means, and have to look forward to times of depression or of discontent, and to provide the funds needful for any and every emergency. They also have an educational and elevating tendency on the character of the individual, for each member has the fullest opportunity of expressing his opinion on all questions brought up for discussion. He is thus fitted to debate matters of the highest importance, and is trained to reason on subjects which involve the interests of tens of thousands of persons beyond his own narrow circle. The scope and power of this influence are not confined to those who are, for the time being, members of the union. On the contrary, the organized energy of the union is felt everywhere, it effects the whole class of workmen in all places and at all times.

More than one writer has spoken of this phase of the question. We are told that the real importance of work'ngmen's associations is not that these unions simply guard his interests as a workman, but that they teach thrift, providence and care for the future. "They are schools in which he learns to understand business life in all its bearings and with all its difficulties and dangers. His life has received a new purpose and character. He is learning by his own experience to recognize the difficulties which oppose themselves to the carrying out of social institutions. He is becoming more moderate in his claims, calmer in judgment and more contented with success. Step by step,

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

s meetings, journals and congresses he is attracted to the general interest of the public, acquiring influence in local bodies and in parliament, and becoming more active, independent and powerful factor in life."

Several attempts have been made in England to bring all the trade unions in one vast confederation. At present, this will, probably, be accomplished before many years. Nearly fifty years ago there was a "National Association of Organized Trades," which was very active for a few years, then it gradually lost power and influence and was finally dissolved in 1869. A few years later a second attempt was made.

that wages have increased to some extent in Great Britain, though it will be found, on examination, that this advance is largely confined to the higher grades of skilled workmen. There is still a great deal to be accomplished in this direction, but the whole question as to the power of trade unions to effect a rise of wages will be discussed later. The movement has certainly influenced legislation in favor of increased power for workmen. The various reform bills of Great Britain, extending the suffrage, were, in a sense, rendered possible by the adhesion of the trade unions of England, Scotland and Ireland. The tendency of labor organizations in Great Britain, as in this country, is steadily in the direction of making their political power and influence more strongly felt. This is not to be regarded with apprehension. We have no doubt they will be conservative and wise in their actions.

Turning to this country, we have trade unions, and they are very active and powerful, but they are not as far advanced as in Great Britain. They have by no means come to their maturity of power. As English common law was the source of our law as well, it need not surprise us to know that here, too, organized labor has had an age of discouragement even of persecution. It is claimed that the tailors of this country were the first to form a trade union, their organization dating back to 1806. 1825 is quite a landmark in the history of labor in this country. So-

and economic questions were claiming the attention of thinkers. At that time the workmen were suffering from over-work, low wages and poverty. The men of the day discussed such questions as "how to prevent the rich from swallowing up the poor," and dwelt on the injurious consequences of allowing the few to amass large fortunes. What would the writers have said could they have foreseen some of the fortunes of to-day? It was at this time, too, that Owen's famous experiment of founding a community at New Harmony, Ind., was made.

It was about this time that the agitation in favor of eight hours a day began to make itself felt. To the

priation of the soil of the state to private and exclusive possession was eminently and barbarously unjust."

In 1831 there was a meeting of farmers, mechanics and other workmen held in Boston. It is to be noticed that in this meeting farmers and other laborers joined hands, at this late day we are coming around to this same ground. This meeting was but the forerunner of larger conventions in Boston, at which delegates were present from New York and all of the New England States except Vermont. A consideration of the questions they discussed and remedies they proposed will show us that the problem confronting the laboring world then was the same as now, sixty years later. They considered the advisability of calling a national convention of workingmen, and discussed the needs of labor, landed interests, taxation and co-operative trading. The remedies proposed have a strange likeness to those now in favor. They called for the organization of the whole laboring population. And the selection from among the politicians of the respective parties whose moral character, personal habits, relations and employments, as well as professions, afforded a guarantee of their disposition to revise the social and political system and introduce needed reforms.

A meeting of the employers held at Boston shows in a sufficiently striking way how easy it was, and is, for capital to deny rights of others, which it claims itself. They wished to "discountenance and check the

ful combination formed to control the freedom of individuals as to hours of labor," so they set forth with the "pernicious and demoralizing tendency of these combinations." They resolved that "labor should always be left free to regulate itself, and that neither the employed nor the employer should have power to control the other; that all combinations which regulate the price and hours of labor or to restrain individual freedom and enterprise were at all times attended with pernicious consequences." Then apparently in blissful ignorance that it involved any contravention to their previous resolution, they resolved that "we will neither employ any journeyman who at the time he belongs to such combinations, nor will we

from one hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars each for striking for higher wages and preventing others by threats and promises and various means from working except for the agreed scale of prices. A few years later there was a celebrated case in Massachusetts. Seven journeymen shoemakers were charged with conspiracy in that they formed an unlawful combination, made unlawful rules to regulate themselves and other workmen and agreed not to work for any master who should employ a workman not belonging to their union. The first trial went against the defendants, but the Supreme Court arrested judgment.

Without going too much into detail we can assert that the principle of trade unions has had on the whole a steady growth in the United States, in spite of the many discouragements under which it rested. In 1834 there was formed the first trades assembly at Boston. The ten hours agitation was continued, and along in the forties it was quite generally granted. The first industrial congress of the United States met in New York in 1845. The preamble makes a statement of special interest to us at this day. It states: "It is a well known fact that rich men, capitalists and non-producers associate to devise means for securing to themselves the fruits of other men's labor, and that schemes for this purpose are invented and accomplished by combinations. Believing that no effectual resistance to these combinations can ever take place, without united action of the same character on the

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

those who labor and produce all, it is deemed to recommend a plan of organization for union of farmers, mechanics and workingmen throughout the United States." Here, again, we notice the early effort to bring about a combination of agricultural and other laboring interests. Information still devoutly wished for.

Our civil war had a great deal of influence on the world of labor. The large number of men's hands demanded for military purposes, as well as the supplies necessary to carry on the war, were furnished labor for all, but made a great demand for commodities and produce of all kinds.

perhaps rendered more intense for a few years, but in the chapters that have preceded this we have shown that so-called business depressions are the inevitable consequences of continued advance in culture and learning, conjoined with our present capitalist mode of production.

But as a consequence of the state of things immediately following the Civil War, we find labor movement very active. Isolated unions and associations came more and more to see the necessity of amalgamation. An active propaganda was aroused, and new organizations were continually multiplying. From thirty to forty national and international trades unions and amalgamated societies were in existence in 1866, some of them numbering tens of thousands of men. A national congress of over one hundred delegates met in Baltimore in August. By this time the movement in favor of eight hours a day had become a very popular one. The history of the agitation for a further reduction of labor time from ten to eight hours per day is going exactly the same channels as the older agitations for ten hours per day, and it is moving quite as rapidly towards a successful solution of the problem.

Probably from that time to the present, the history of the labor movement is best given in considering some special organizations that stand out with great prominence. Before turning to them it might be well to state that though labor organizations of

us kinds have accomplished considerable in this
ry, yet much remains to be done. And further
at struggle is now before them. Capital is
ized as it never was before, and it shows every
ation to force labor to abandon its organization.
e case of Coal Valley, Illinois, the miners were
elled to abandon their organization before resum-
ork. Many instances can be given similar to
In Ohio the pottery makers at East Liverpool
locked out simply because they organized a
of "Knights of Labor." Everything was going
oothly, there was no dispute as to wages, no
was contemplated, but the men were refused
because they had organized. So in the case of
ew York Central in 1890, the men could only
to work by giving up their organization. This

general way it may be said that the idea most prominent in the constitution, and which is repeated with emphasis in every annual address of the chief is that members of the brotherhood shall aim to reach a high standard of ability as engineers and of character as men well fitted to the important and responsible nature of their occupation, thus entitling them to liberal compensation, which should be insisted upon by all legitimate means. Argument, the true worth of able and competent men, and the highest and best interests of the companies themselves, rather than strikes, were at first, always have been, and are now, the means on which the brotherhood has relied to maintain the justice of its requests at the hands of the railroad company."

With such principles to guide them it is not singular that the order has been an eminently successful one. It has not been thirty years in existence, yet by far the larger number of locomotive engineers of this country are members of the order. Its permanent headquarters are at Cleveland, Ohio, its lodges are scattered all over the country. The strikes in which the Brotherhood have been engaged have been comparatively few. In general the men first exhausted all pacific means before proceeding to a strike, and then were very considerate in stopping the trains at such hours as to cause as little inconvenience as possible to the traveling public. Mr. Baker, in his work on Monopolies, thus speaks in

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

terms of the conduct of this organization in
and great strike in which the order has
ed in Illinois.

Perhaps it was never so forcibly realized
ghly effective these labor combinations
e and how completely they hold the count
mercy, as in the strike of the Locomotive E
on the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy I
ystem in March, 1888. Here were perl
rds of the men in the country qualified for
sible and onerous work of running a loco
gine firmly banded together to advance t
terests and to secure assent to their dema

The brotherhood is what its name implies. They have an insurance association conducted on the assessment plan. It also relieves needy members. This one sketch is a sketch of all labor unions. The aim is very similar in all to protect the interests of their members. Most of the trades have a national organization. The laws of all such national organizations are strictly against permitting the discussion of subjects of a political nature. So strict was this rule that when efforts were made by the legislatures of the various States to pass laws making Trade Unions conspiracies, the unions themselves could not consider in their meetings any plans looking to the defeat of such laws. The plan adopted to get over the difficulty was to organize trades assemblies, composed of delegates from trade unions, and these assemblies made their own laws and prescribed their own duties, the principal duty being to watch legislation.

Various attempts have been made to organize a general union of all the trades. In 1866 a convention composed of delegates from trade unions and trade assemblies from all parts of the country, met in the city of Baltimore and formed an organization known as the National Labor Union. From this body at its first meeting came the first demand for the "eight hour law," and a "National Labor Bureau." This organization went to pieces on the question of forming a political party. In 1873 the trade unions in national convention formed what was known as the

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Industrial Congress of the United States." It met in the city of Cleveland and was attended by the officers of nearly all the national trade unions in existence. It met again in Rochester in 1891, but has not met since that date. Each and every one of these national conventions adopted resolutions advocating strikes, and urging instead of strikes the formation of co-operative associations, or the use of arbitration in the settlement of disputes. * In 1895 another attempt was made to unite all trades in a national organization. Thus was formed the National Federation of Trade and Labor Assemblies, which has since its existence and bids fair to grow stronger as time

William Cook, R. W. Keen. J. S. Kennedy. These men met at the house of Mr. Wright, subscribed their names to the obligations, and called their new organization "Knights of Labor." But as it was a secret society the name of the organization and its object was not made known. They met immediately after their day's work, and feeling the need of refreshments, one of their number was appointed to see that tea was made. His practice of carrying a tea-pot to the place of meeting explains the nickname which was bestowed upon the new society, the "Tea-pot Society."

Such was the beginning. The organization had, as we all know, a phenomenal growth. When the order commenced to prosper a number of local assemblies were reunited in district assemblies, and finally a general assembly reunites the district assemblies. The following preamble sets forth the general scope of a local assembly. "The Local Assembly is not a mere Trade-Union or Beneficial Society; it is more and higher. It gathers into one fold all branches of honorable toil, without regard to nationality, sex, creed or color. It is not founded simply to protect one interest or to discharge one duty, be it ever so great. While it retains and fosters all the fraternal characteristics and protection of the single trade union, it also, by the multiplied power of union protects and assist all. It aims to assist members to better their condition morally, socially and financially.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

In a business firm, every member an equal part
such so as a commercial house or manufactu
lishment. All members are in duty bound
in their equal share of time and money.
Members elected must not expect to "run it," and
if the partners do nothing, as in the case of n
ies. While acknowledging that it is someti
sary to enjoin an oppressor, yet strikes sho
oided whenever possible. Strikes, at best, c
temporary relief, and members should be e
to depend upon thorough organization,
tion and political action, and, through these,
hment of the wage system. Our mission
e accomplished in a day or generation. Ag
Education and Organization are all necessa
ing the higher duties that should be taught

whether incorporated in the constitution or not, is the proper scope and field of operation of a Local Assembly.

T. V. Powderly, the present 'General Master Workman, the second man to hold that office, expresses the general aim of the order in the following official declaration of principles: "The alarming development and aggressiveness of great capitalists and corporations, unless checked, will inevitably lead to the pauperization and hopeless degradation of the toiling masses. It is imperative, if we desire to enjoy the full blessings of life, that a check be placed upon unjust accumulation and the power for evil of aggregated wealth. This much desired object can be accomplished only by the united efforts of those who obey the divine injunction, 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.' Therefore we have formed the

- Order of Knights of Labor, for the purpose of organizing and directing the power of the industrial masses, not as a political party, for it is more—in it are crystallized sentiments and measures for the benefit of the whole people; but it should be borne in mind, when exercising the right of suffrage, that most of the objects herein set forth can only be obtained through legislation, and that it is the duty of all to assist in nominating and supporting with their votes only such candidates as will pledge their support to those measures, regardless of party; but no one shall, however, be compelled to vote with the majority. And calling

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

all who believe in securing 'the greatest good for the greatest number' to join and assist us, we have to the world that our aims are: First, to increase the material and moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness. Second, to give to the workers the full enjoyment of the wealth they create, sufficient leisure in which to develop their intellectual, moral and social faculties; all of the benefits of recreation and pleasures of association; in short, to enable them to share in the gains and honors of a advancing civilization."

There are, of course, matters of great importance which should be given of all our great divisions of trade. But our sole aim has been to show

employment of child labor, and the proper care for the health, comfort and convenience of employees in general. We propose to speak in a separate chapter of the part organization has taken in furthering the work of co-operation. Politically, labor has not chosen to exert itself, indeed politics have been ruled out. Undoubtedly the tendency is for a change in this direction. Still the following extract may be said to represent the present attitude of labor organizations.

"While we are seeking reforms that must, in some instances, come through the ballot-box, yet by far, the highest motive that concerns us is the education of the masses to that point where they will fully see and know, not only their own wrongs and degradation, but see a full and final solution of the labor problem, and when this is attained each will see clearly for himself in his own way the only path that leads to liberty and equality. When this advanced point is once attained, then will the party that is to carry the desired measures to success be evolved. It will be evolved slowly and imperceptibly almost. But that such will be the final outcome of organization and education is the silver lining of the cloud that now lowers so threateningly above us. When such a party does come, its name will not be the laboring man's party, or the bondholder's party, but the party of the people, for the people and by the people."

One of the principal aims of labor organization is to enable the laborers to procure better wages. Their

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

in this direction have by no means been what
The commissioner of labor for Ohio tells
an exhaustive analysis of tables furnished
h trade unions and those gathered in his st
he tables conclusively show that "trac
the most powerful and compact organizati
the nearest to receiving an equitable share
nt product of capital and labor." And yet,
f all the figures to prove that some slight an
on has taken place in this direction in the pa
nple fact remains that not very much can
for under the present system. Organized lab
e fully as strong as organized capital, but t
ature of capitalist production will prevent a

ers think that the greatest value of these organizations lies in the fact that they promise a way of escape, not from low wages, but from wagedom itself. Let us, for instance, notice what Master Workman Powderly says on this subject. "So long as the present order of things exists, just so long will the attempt to make peace between the man who sells and the man who buys labor be fruitless. This is the system which carries with it into the work shop, the mine and the factory a host of evils . . . To point out a way to destroy this system would be a pleasure to me. I can only direct your attention to it and leave the rest to your wisdom; and I firmly believe that I have pointed out the most vicious of all evils which afflict labor to-day. The wage-system, at its inception, was but an experiment, and doubts were entertained as to its adoption, but the avaricious eye of the Shylock of labor saw in it a weapon with which he could strike the toiler to the dust. Without organization we can not accomplish anything; through it we hope to forever banish that curse of modern civilization — Wage-slavery."

In the preceding chapter we set forth the wonderful combination of capital. We have now witnessed the development of combination in an opposite direction. In the following chapter we shall trace the same tendency and its results in the field of agricultural labor. These mighty organizations but foreshadow some coming change.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FARMERS' MOVEMENT.

The Importance of the Movement—The Ricardian Law and
are --The Necessity of Combination—The General Nature
of the Various Farmer Organizations—Plan of
Work—Conclusion.



ORGANIZATION, under various
different names, of those interested
in agricultural pursuits is the most

the laborer a subsistence. In reference to agriculture the law may be stated somewhat as follows: In any country where the food supply of the people can be easily and abundantly raised, where land is new, vast tracts of it as yet not devoted to tillage, the value of the produce raised by the agricultural laborer tends to sink to the level which will just about furnish him a living.

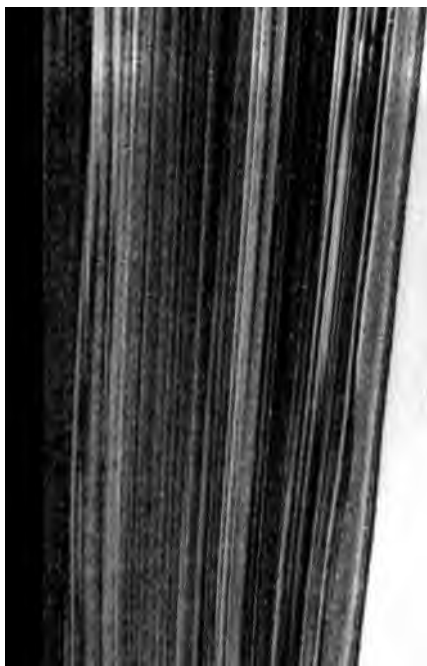
We do not see how this statement can be successfully controverted. We have illustrated it by reference to official figures from the tenth census. Certainly the fact is as stated. We may differ as much as we please as to the causes at work to bring about this result. We may lay it to tariff legislation, to financial measures, to class laws, or what not, there is no dispute as to the fact that in this country the people engaged in agriculture can but barely make ends meet. We have not hesitated to assert that the real underlying cause is that as at present considered labor itself is but a commodity. And consequently, whether we are talking about agricultural labor, or labor of any other sort, it matters not what, all that will be paid for that labor will be simply what will support the laborer. That point is, however, not now under consideration.

We have seen how, at the present day, the tendency is for capital to combine, organize and concentrate. We have noticed in the preceding chapter how labor generally has sought to improve its condition by

ation, how the numerous trade unions unite in having national jurisdiction, how all labor seeks to be in a vast labor confederation. Let us now see what the great agricultural interest of our land has to do in this same direction. It would indeed be passing strange if they, too, did not seek to rid themselves of the evils under which they suffer, if they also seek to utilize the united strength of combination. The laborers hope, by presenting a bold, united force certain concessions from capital, and, as we have seen, the more far-seeing leaders trust to overthrow the whole system of wagedom. At present agricultural workers of this country are combining

The trust is nothing more than the centralization of organized money-capital, the trade combine is the organization of the capital employed by handlers; the pool is the outgrowth of the centralized capital which controls the railways. Turn to which hand you will, among the professions, and avocations which lie outside the farm but draw their subsistence from feeding upon the wealth produced by the farmer, and they are all organized. The inequitable features developed by this one-sided organization of the forces which control the industrial conditions, have made the crying need for the reforms advocated in the land, transportation, money, and tax policies of our government which can only be secured by such organization among producers as will counterbalance the influences now at work in perpetuating these policies."

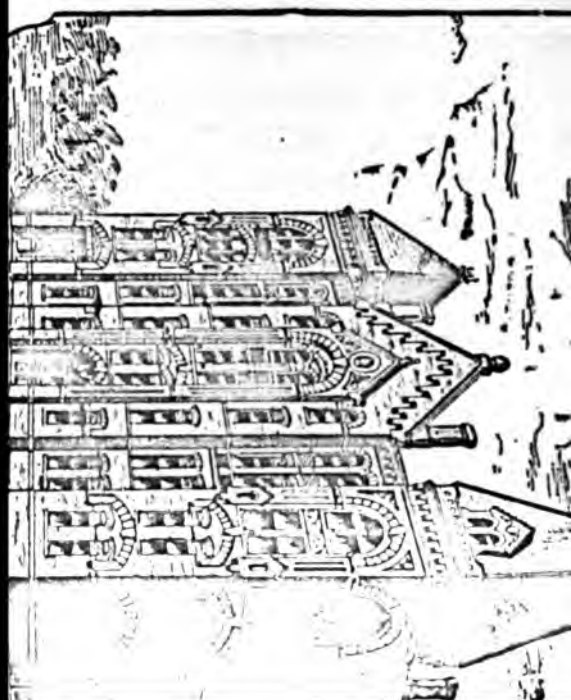
It is not singular then that various forms of organization have been adopted by the farmers of the land. On the whole, the general aim of these organizations is the same in all. There are of course local elements which effect the problem. The wants of cotton growers are not in all respects identical with the grain growers. It would be singular if amongst all the measures suggested for relief there were not some which were supported by but a portion of the organizations. For instance, the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union earnestly advocates what is known as the Sub-Treasury plan. The National Farmers' Alliance of the North are not, as a

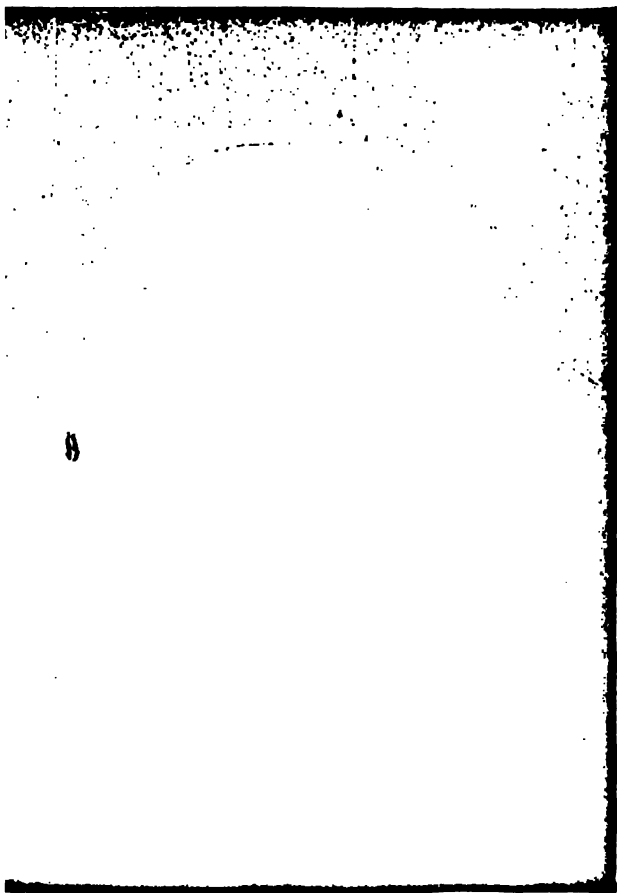


... action
element in all
tive feature of
subject for all.
a brief history
condition, plan
organizations.

These org:
Alliance of the
Farmers' Allianc
and Southwest, ti
tions of Illinois ar
in Michigan and V
in the Middle an
organization is a p
pathy with all oth
that there is any
among these bodie
organiza-

affords to the farmers of our land a chance to compare the working machinery of the various farmer organizations. It will also afford a most gratifying evidence that they are all working on substantially the same lines, and clearly foreshadows a practical union of all. It will also afford them a basis on which to estimate the strength, morally and political, of the great movement now sweeping over the land, and give them most cheering evidence of substantial results sure to come in the near future. The student of history who contemplates the various industrial movements of the past can not fail to be profoundly impressed with the great labor organizations of to-day, and still more will he be impressed with the wonderful combinations of those engaged in agriculture. It is a most cheering sign of the times. It is this which bids fair to dispel the clouds now darkly lowering in the social sky. We hope all, whether farmers or not, will carefully consider the articles that follow:





August Park

MOULTON, IA.
SEC'Y NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

CHAPTER XIV.

NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE,


—BY—

AUGUST POST, National Secretary.

the Alliance is—The Objects of the Alliance—Results—
Principle of Non-Partisanship—Declaration of Pur-
cers—Aims—Resolutions—Different Alliances—Pream
Iowa State Alliance—Objects of the same—Who may
ure of all Alliance Bodies—How to Organize—The

ization, and that it is only thus that farmers can favorably affect the social and economic conditions which so vitally concern them. It is believed, further, that the general public does not desire to be unjust, and would not willingly deny to so important a section of industry as agriculture any fair and well-considered demand which farmers regard as essential or advantageous to their welfare. Organization affords opportunity for such intelligent discussion as shall furnish a reasonable assurance that the demands that may be made are fair and well considered, and also supply a voice which, to some extent at least, can give authoritative expression to the farmer's wishes and needs, after they have been formulated. These are some of the considerations—and only some of them—which render organization by the farmers of the country desirable, not only for their own sake, but for the sake of the public. Mere unrest and discontent without definite expression of grounds of complaint has never yet righted a wrong or removed a grievance.

The object, then, of the National Farmers' Alliance is to secure unity of action, after full and intelligent discussion, for the promotion of such reforms as may be necessary to the bettering of the farmers' condition. It covers a broad field and nothing that can advance the welfare of the farm or the farmer is foreign to it. Naturally, purposes so extensive cannot be described in detail in word. They include reformation in economics, the dissemination of principles,



dignity and
discussion of
directly, as i
breeding, etc.
transportation,
like. The pri
one to which th
with good resu
means, to so infi
from railroads an
special privileges
tions injurious alil
crease markets at
such combinations
ing under the law
demand.

With these pur
ers' Alliance h

those in turn have subordinate Alliances under their jurisdiction, both county and local. Thus far it is almost wholly located in the Northern States, and its headquarters and business office are at Moulton, Iowa.

Its methods are non-partisan. It believes that, however interested individuals, professional politicians and some partisan leaders may feel, the vast majority of the people of all parties want to do right. It believes that the Alliance principles are right and only need agitation and discussion to commend them to the masses of the parties.

The following is Section I, of Article XII, of the Constitution of the Iowa Farmers' Alliance, and is practically the same as is contained in the constitutions of all the state bodies organized under the auspices of the National Farmers' Alliance.

ARTICLE XII.

SECTION 1. This organization is strictly non-partisan in its methods. It is recommended, however, each member use his utmost influence in the political party of his choice to secure the nomination of candidates for congressional or legislative honors, committed to Alliance principles.

The principle of non-partisanship it has never abandoned, even temporarily, and in Iowa, where it has perhaps accomplished most, it has never had a political ticket in the field. At the annual meeting in September, 1889, it formulated a number of legiti-

THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

demands, quite a number of which were with at the last session of the legislature, a ple, in the passage of the law authorizing ing the making of joint tariffs upon rail the reduction of legal contract interest to nt, the passage of a school text book law gainst trusts and trade conspiracies, and r . Upon the same non-partisan lines the was chiefly instrumental in securing at the h previous legislature in the adoption of ot system of railway control, which include c railway commission with power to fix rat n which, however combatted when first propo e would now be willing to abandon, unless hing very clearly known to be better.

To endorse the motto, "In things essential, unity; in all things, charity."

To secure purity of the election franchise, to induce all voters to intelligently exercise it for the enactment and execution of laws which shall express the just and equal rights of all classes of citizens.

To develop a better state, mentally, morally, socially and financially.

To constantly strive to secure entire harmony and good will among all mankind and brotherly love among ourselves.

To suppress personal, local, sectional and national prejudices, all unhealthy rivalry and all selfish ambition.

The National Alliance of course elects the usual officers to be found in such assemblies. Its constitution prescribes the fees, the basis of representation from the subordinate alliances, the granting of charters, time of holding their annual meetings, etc. It is a very simple representative body. At the Des Moines convention in 1888, the following resolutions were adopted, which sets in a clear light the aims of the Alliance:

WHEREAS, The farmers of the United States are most in number of any order of citizens, and with other productive classes have freely given of their blood to found and maintain the nation.

WHEREAS, Experience has taught us that in the great plain people is our country's sure hope in time

and that salvation from peril must be wrought
their loyal faith and willing sacrifices.

WHEREAS, We recognize in these troubled times
of appealing to the higher nature of men,
they may seal anew their belief in the holiness
sacrifice and the meanness of greed, and thus
to give just condemnation to whomsoever
selfish spoil of the substance of the people, whe-
be great capitalists or industrial corporations.

WHEREAS, Many reforms are needed, and we ask
islation and enforcement of law to bring them
and we demand the passage of these meas-
ot in the name of any party, but in the name
re in the name of the people

Resolved That we favor the taking of such steps by Congress as shall forfeit to the general government all lands granted to railroad corporations which are not yet earned and time for earning of which has expired.

Resolved, That we favor the repeal of all laws granting appropriations of public lands for building any railroads or other purposes when the construction of the improvement to be accomplished has not been entered upon.

Resolved, That the general government should own and operate under the postal service a public system of telegraph and telephone lines.

Resolved, That we favor the plan of building a deeper water harbor on our southern coast, and the early completion of the Hennepin Canal, and the opening of feasible water-ways.

Resolved That the public welfare demands that the Inter-State Commerce Law be kept intact, and we protest against the repeal of the pooling clause, and condemn as vicious the clamor raised by the railroad corporations for the legalizing of pools. We favor even more restrictive measures. The proposed plan of making the foreign corporations subject to the State courts in the States where they do business and depriving them of the power to remove these cases to the United States courts meets approval.

Resolved. That we believe in so amending the Public School System that the education of our chil-



evitable
Our cou
moral, m
the essen

Resolved
cently end
purposes c
be held fai
as they hav
mand that
purpose of t
bling industr

Resolved
rendered by t
bogus butter f
execution of t
to prevent adu.

Resolved,

try form the great conservative and conserving element whose power must stand between the nation and the dangers which now threaten its future well-being, which come from the unrestrained greed of the influential monopolist who defies law and tramples upon the principles of justice in his method of acquiring the wealth that others create, and the less influential, less successful, but more demonstrative rabble who practice violence.

Resolved, That United States Senators should be elected directly by the people.

Below the national organizations are the various State Alliances. Their constitutions under which they work are substantially the same in all cases. The following Preamble and "Objects" of the Iowa State Alliance may be taken as a representative case.

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, The general condition of our country imperatively demands unity of action on the part of the laboring classes, reformation in economy and dissemination of principles best calculated to encourage and foster agricultural and mechanical pursuits, encourage the toiling masses—leading them in the road to prosperity and providing a just and fair remuneration for labor, a just exchange for our commodities, and the best means of securing to the laboring classes the greatest amount of good, we therefore adopt the following as our declaration of principles:

I.
detriment
demand e

SECTION
to promote
ple in a pra
inculcation
ments of ne
educational
intellectual
the best mor
literature of
and free dis
treatment of s
tion, transport
and demand, a

402 THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

the agricultural interests warrant, to secure the strict legislative control of railroads in the interests of equity and justice to the public; to crush out monopolies in every form, whether in land, transposition or commerce; to crush out the manufacture of and traffic in adulterated food products; to protect the live stock interests of the country against contagious diseases, and to protect and foster agricultural interests in every way feasible and just.

The constitution then prescribes who may join the Alliance; namely, "Practical and operative farmers, over sixteen years of age, male or female," names the officers, and states their duties, designates a place for the annual meeting, determines how delegates shall be appointed, and provides for the expenses. The County Alliances come next in order. There must be at least four local alliances in any county to entitle it to organize a County Alliance. Finally, we come to the unit of organization, the local Alliance. It requires seven members to form a local Alliance. The object of the local alliance is stated officially as follows:

The objects of this Alliance shall be to promote the general interests of its members socially, financially, politically and educationally, and to co-operate through the State Alliance for the reforms designed to be secured by the State Farmers' Alliance.

The Alliance from the national body down to the local body, is a very democratic organization, simple

THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE

inexpensive. The methods of organization are very simple; the following instructions will guide you.

How shall we organize? Must we wait for the Organizer or County Organizer to organize us? No. Send to the Secretary of the National Farmers' Alliance to get constitutions, blank certificates, etc. Call a meeting and get the farmers and their wives whom you desire as members. When you meet nominate one of your number for president and one for secretary, and let the president or some one else announce that the object of the meeting is to organize a local Alliance of Farmers. Then read the constitution.

membership fee for each male member, also the person to whom the charter and documents are to be sent. When this making out in due form has been attended to the President should appoint a committee on local laws, whose duty it shall be to report at the next meeting what further additions may be necessary to those made obligatory by the State Alliance.

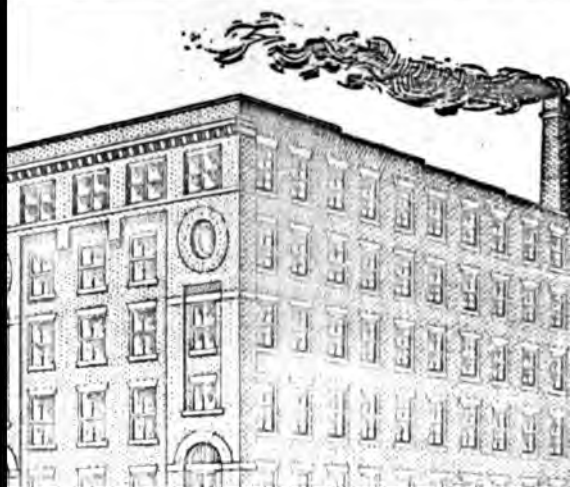
We have been at some pains to set forth the objects and general aim of this organization, because there is a great amount of ignorance among all classes of people, except agriculturalists, as to their plans and objects. Nothing very revolutionary has yet made its appearance, nothing but what all classes of Americans can join in wishing them success. The editor of the "Iowa Homestead" has set forth the peculiar conditions which hedge around the farmer and his calling, his isolation, and lack of leaders, and then he shows how the Alliance tends to remedy this evil by bringing farmers together, to discuss their own peculiar interests, to develop a farm spirit and a farm leadership. It brings up for discussion only those questions which concern farms and farmers, but it excludes none of these. It tolerates the utmost freedom of discussion and the widest latitude of opinion. It aims to bring farmers together, united by a common interest and for a common purpose. It aims to form a public opinion that will be a bulwark against attempted oppression. It aims to develop a great middle class, combining in each individual the capital-

THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

and the laborer, that will act as umpire
tical influence between the mere capitalist and
e laborer, and by its numbers and power c
dience to its decrees. It teaches the depen
all classes on each other, the value of the
urer and the miner to the farmer, and the va
farmer to the miner and manufacturer. It
s the value of vast aggregations of capi
ducting great enterprises which no single in
or partnership can manage, and regards the
stock of the railroad, when representing
, every whit as sacred as the share in a tow
farm. There is no war between the Ea
stor and the Western farmer. The Alliance
each that property in railroads is sacred if
e of watered stock, nor does it regard sha

trial interest. The Alliance counteracts, as far as it can be counteracted, the effects of the isolation of farm life, it cultivates the farm spirit, it teaches farmers to believe in each other, to trust each other, to be just to each other and in so doing be just to all. It is but in the small beginning of its career. It is the creature of an imperative necessity just beginning to be recognized. The farmers of America have a goodly heritage. They are not slaves, nor peons, nor paupers. They are not yet bankrupted by extortions, but they will not tolerate evils that will grow, unless checked with the passing years; and become a bondage too intolerable to be endured by a free people.

Practically the Alliance has already accomplished a great work, according to the Western Rural it has been the means of restoring no less than thirty-one million acres of land to the public domain. It has saved a vast amount of money to the farmers by breaking the millers and elevator rings, and by its co-operative buying and selling. Although it is non-partisan it is but natural that its members should vote for those who are personally interested in the success of its movement. It is now in a very prosperous state. The measures they advocate are not at all startling, they wish to break down monopolies, to equalize taxation and to improve their condition, but not at the expense of any other classes, they ask for no class legislation in their behalf.





Fraternally yours
John P. Steller

MT. VERNON, ILL.

SEC'Y FARMERS' MUTUAL BENEFIT ASSOCIATION.

THE FARMERS' MUTUAL BENEFIT ASSOCIATION.

CHAPTER XV.

FARMERS' MUTUAL BENEFIT ASSOCIATION

— BY —

JOHN P. STELLE, Secretary General Assembly.

History of the Movement—Objects of the Association—
Statement of Purposes—Necessity of Organization—Preamble
—General Assembly—State Assembly—County Assembly—
Subordinate Lodges—Requisite of Membership—Who
a Lodge—Officers and their Duties—Present Condition
Cultural Interests—The Memorial to Congress—Conclusion



IT is our purpose to give a

410 THE FARMERS' MUTUAL BENEFIT ASSOCIATION.

planned as to meet the approval of the farmers of the land. It goes without saying that it has the same general purposes in view as the other great farming organizations. Its system of organization is not quite so complex as the "National farmers Alliance and Industrial Union," and a little more complex than the National Farmers Alliance of the West. Thus it may be said to have the good points of both.

The Articles of Incorporation state the objects to be as follows: The objects for which it is formed are, to unite the farmers of the State of Illinois, and of the United States, in all matters pertaining to the interests of their calling; to devise ways and means whereby they may more effectually promote their general welfare; to improve the modes of agriculture, horticulture and stock raising; to adopt and encourage such rotation of crops as may improve rather than impoverish the soil; to devise and encourage such systems of concentration and co-operation as may diminish the cost of production, and of farm life and farm operations; and to secure the best possible returns for farm productions; to provide for the extension of the benefits of said association by organizing and chartering subordinate associations in such manner as may from time to time be prescribed by the rules and regulations of the association.

The following Declaration of Purposes set forth in dignified language the sentiments which animate the members of this association.

ng convinced by evidences on every hand of
erative necessity of an Association of Farmers,
ng moved by unfeigned courtesy toward those
business classes, we deem it expedient on our
express our purposes in unmistakable terms.
s universally admitted that every profession
iness, apart from farming, looks either directly
ectly to the farmers for sustenance. This fact
mpel every business or professional man to at
ve us the benefit of his good wishes, if not a
hand. We do not incline to the opinion that
uccessful farming can be made entirely indepen-
t a mere glance at our situation reveals the
it we are growing more and more dependent,
quite to our disadvantage. We engage to
ourselves to appreciate the dignity of our call-

412 THE FARMERS' MUTUAL BENEFIT ASSOCIATION.

and the advantage of disseminating timely and important information. Organized, we have the advantage of uniting our interests and combining our strength.

We engage to acquaint ourselves with and to support our Municipal, County, State and National laws. We engage not to interfere with any other business class or profession, but rather to respect all legitimate business and professions. But we will promptly and fearlessly place the stamp of condemnation on every business or profession which, in our judgment, is calculated to interfere with our rights. We intend to be progressive in thought and action. We shall endeavor to advance our country in general—morally, intellectually and financially.

We rely with full confidence in an all wise Providence for our ultimate success.

Any American citizen, farmer, mechanic or professional man, can but extend his sympathy and good will to such a plain, straightforward creed as that. The following is the preamble.

'We, farmers of the United States of America, believing that our business is the business preservative of business, and that our peculiar interests and acknowledged rights have been and will continue to be disregarded, unless we assume the office of self-protection; we, therefore, do resolve to organize ourselves for the purpose hereinafter mentioned and to adopt for our government the following Motto, Constitution and By-Laws.

THE FARMERS' MUTUAL BENEFIT ASSOCIATION.

The motto they have adopted is equally to

Equal and exact justice to all ; special privileges and immunities to none ; charity to those in poverty, affliction or distress, and especially to the poor of their own Order.

The Constitution provides that the association shall consist of a General Assembly, State Assemblies, County Assemblies and Subordinate Lodges. The General Assembly consists of its officers, standing committees, and Representatives from State Assemblies. It is the supreme head of the association and makes all laws for its government ; grants and issues charters ; adopts and controls the unwritten word of the Order ; all signs, pass words, emblems and other

414 THE FARMERS' MUTUAL BENEFIT ASSOCIA

ing committees and representatives from Subordinate Lodges. County Assemblies have jurisdiction over all matters pertaining to the good of the association in their respective counties, subject to all laws and resolutions of the State and General Assemblies. They have appellate jurisdiction in cases arising from Subordinate Lodges, subject to final appeal to the State Assembly.

Finally we come to the unit of organization, the Subordinate Lodge, which consists of duly qualified farmers, citizens of the United States, inducted into the association as provided by its laws and authorized usages. Each Subordinate Lodge has exclusive control of its own affairs, subject only to the laws, rulings and resolutions of the General Assembly and its State and County Assemblies.

The requirements of membership are few and simple. The applicant must be a male citizen of the United States, at least twenty-one years of age, of good moral character and of industrious habits, and whose residence within the vicinity of the Subordinate Lodge to which application for membership is made, must have been sixty days, and whose principal vocation must be that of farming. He must make application in writing to his nearest or most accessible lodge, accompanied by a fee of fifty cents. The application must state whether or not the applicant has been rejected by or expelled from any other lodge. This is referred to an investigating committee, who

THE FARMERS' MUTUAL BENEFIT ASSOCIATION. 4

investigation, and if the applicant be found to meet the foregoing requirements, they so report upon a ballot is taken and if not more than two-thirds of the balls appear the applicant is declared eligible and may be initiated. If the committee find to the contrary they shall so report, or if more than two-thirds of the balls appear in either case both the fee and application is returned, and the matter shall be made known to the secrets of the Order.

When a lodge requires, at least, ten persons to organize a new lodge, the method of procedure is for those wishing to form a new lodge to join in a written request to the nearest lodge, which is forwarded to some chartering authority. Upon receipt of the same, the lodge, having five

416 THE FARMERS' MUTUAL BENEFIT ASSOCIATION.

These are all elected officers. There is, however, a board of five trustees elected by the General Assembly, this board is the legal head of the association. A county must have, at least, three subordinate lodges before it can organize a County Assembly, and a state must have, at least, three County Assemblies before it can organize a State Assembly.

The foregoing gives us a fairly good idea of the working machinery of the association. The secretary at the general assembly in 1889 summed up the present condition of the agricultural interests in this land and the hopes of the organization as follows: On the one hand is a depressed and suffering agriculture, the vocation to which God has called you—unremunerated toilers, homes mortgaged, life-time labors, with all their buried hopes and sweetly painful memories, passing away from the laborers. God blesses with abundance in vain. The worker's share is still unremunerated toil. On the other hand is law-made aristocracy, trusts, combines and monopolies more powerful than the government itself, exercising governmental functions for selfish ends. Agriculture is always the sufferer in such a condition of government, and never yet have agriculturalists been able to throw off the yoke when once fastened upon them, but by a revolutionary upheaval. But the superior intelligence of the American farmer gives ample hope that through wise and prudent but powerful organization this may be grandly done, and our country, the home of liberty,

acon light of nations, may be made to blossom
 rose, and "This is my home," may be written
 the mortgage fiend now sits, while "equal
 for all" shall blaze in letters of living fire to
 up our legislative and congressional halls.
 er incentives to action could not be, and may
 itself lead the way.

ne Association adopted in the General Assem-
 1889, a memorial to Congress, which though
 hat long, we will quote entire, since it presents
 ry clear manner just what legislation the asso-
 thinks is necessary to bring prosperity to the
 s of the land. It also gives us in a short com-
 he wants of all farmer organizations and of
 who are not farmers. Let it not be forgotten
 e legislation is not demanded for the sake of

418 THE FARMERS' MUTUAL BENEFIT ASSOCIATION.

in professional and personal service, and with some exceptions, those engaged in mining and manufacturing, have received remunerative prices for their labors, and many of them highly remunerative prices for the capital invested, and many persons have become exceedingly wealthy within the last decade. The business of farming, which has always been less remunerative to both the capital and labor invested than almost any other business or occupation, the prices of farm products and the profits of both capital and labor invested therein for the past six or seven years has been almost constantly declining, until the prices are now, and for some years have been, absolutely below the cost of production, and the business of farming has been prosecuted for three or four years at an absolute loss, in so much that the laborers of this country who toil more hours than any other class or calling, instead of sharing in the general prosperity, are growing poorer day by day. And while many persons in our country are said to be in want of food and raiment, the American farmers (except the growers of rice and sugar) can not find a market for their products which will repay the cost of production, transportation and sale. This state of things has forced many of our farmers to mortgage their farms. The unremunerative price of farm products affords no hope of paying these mortgages, and it is only a question of time when the mortgages will be foreclosed, the occupants (the farmer and his wife and

on \$150,000,000 worth of p...
level in incomes of more than \$1,000,-
n.

in favor of "equal and exact justice to
privileges and immunities to none.

re, and to that end, we denounce and
the abolition of all monopolies, whether
class legislation, or by the voluntary com-
corporations or individuals.

denounce, and demand the suppression of
and combinations, of either persons or cor-
made for the purpose of limiting production,
ing, preventing, or diminishing competition;
using the price of products far above the cost
uction.

we denounce, and demand the repeal of all
legislation, whereby any person or corporation
on of any class, calling, profession or occupa-
... privilege or immunity not

420 THE FARMERS' MUTUAL BENEFIT ASSOCIATION.

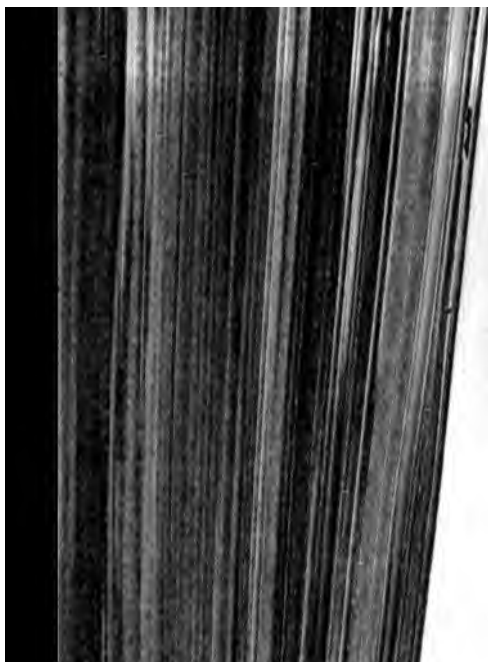
which is fast transforming the once prosperous and free people of the United States into a nation of millionaires and paupers, of plutocrats and slaves; and which, if not promptly arrested, all hope of liberty and "government by the people for the people," will soon have perished from the earth.

And we denounce that system of class legislation and of voluntary combinations of capitalists and monopolists which have rendered this unparalleled accumulation possible. And as a just and legal corrective of this dangerous and destructive evil, we demand the repeal of all class legislation, and that our revenue be largely collected by a heavily graduated tax on incomes, and especially the incomes of rich corporations.

We denounce that hoary-headed monopoly created and sustained by our system of patent laws, by which our people (and more especially the farmers) are annually taxed probably more than \$100,000,000—the results of which are seldom to reward the inventor, but to increase the number of millionaires in our country.

And we demand such revision of our patent law as will eliminate all monopoly from the system, and at the same time secure to the inventor, not to the speculator, a liberal reward for his invention in proportion to its utility.

We believe that it is not only an inherent attribute of sovereignty, but the absolute duty of the



T
people
currenc
nishing
annual i
national
profits r
money, t
national t
all the ta
paid by e
There
tional ban
corporation
money or
coined, prin
government
vention of

422 THE FARMERS' MUTUAL BENEFIT ASSOCIATION.

discrimination between gold and silver either in coining or paying out the same.

And we demand that our government, instead of using its influence, as heretofore with European nations, to maintain the single standard of gold, as money, shall hereafter use all its influence with those nations which have demonetized silver and adopted the gold standard to restore silver coins to their former position as money.

We believe that as all corporations are created by the sovereignty, they have no interest or inalienable rights. That they are at all times subject to regulation and control (and for cause to dissolution) by their creator.

That corporations for transporting persons and property, or for transmitting news or intelligence, or for insuring life or property, should be so regulated by law as to prevent all discrimination and extortion. That they should not be permitted to water their stock, or to over-issue it, without payment of the increase in money.

That they should not recklessly squander their earnings, and thus necessitate exorbitant charges for services rendered the public. That they be requested to manage their business with reasonable economy, that they may serve the public effectively and cheaply. And finally, if these ends can not be secured through corporate control and management of railways and telegraphs, then we demand that the



posed
Preside
legislat
electing
ballot o
We
tion or p
believe t
return of
is as nece
principles
There
either duri
election of
not longer
voters. If
government
who should

424 THE FARMERS' MUTUAL BENEFIT ASSOCIATION.

the hard earnings of farmers and laborers, who can hardly support themselves and families. It is un-republican, and smacks strongly of aristocracy and royalty.

We demand the immediate reclamation of all the public lands granted to either persons or corporations to aid railways, the terms of which grants were not complied with in the prescribed time and manner. And we propose to watch and reward the course of our senators and representatives on this subject.

We protest against the increase of salaries to senators or any other public officer. We believe that the salaries of public officers should be a fair compensation for the services rendered, and should be but little more than private persons obtain for similar work. The salaries in excess of this are a standing reward to induce the great scramble for office, and to obtain office by corruption and fraud, which should be promptly arrested by the withdrawal of the reward. We therefore demand a revision of the salaries and fixing them on these principles.

And the fact that more than half of all the revenues collected in the United States is paid out as salaries to officers and wages of public employees, conclusively indicates that if we would reduce our taxes we must first reduce our expenditures.

We believe that the production and use of all articles of necessity, convenience and comfort should be encouraged, and the use of those of mere luxury and

THE FARMERS' MUTUAL BENEFIT ASSOCIATION

...es useless or injurious to health or good
...d be discouraged. Hence, we favor the
...duction of taxes on articles of necessity
...e and comfort to the poor, to the limit co
...equal and exact justice to all." And
...n of taxation be placed on articles of luxu
...ally on those injurious to health an
...s, and upon large and excessive incomes
...We are opposed to alien ownership of rea
...United States.

We believe that our government and
...d no longer encourage foreign immigrati
...d prevent the immigration of criminals, p
...ns of bad morals, and all adults who

CHAPTER XVI.

THE GRANGE.

—REVIEWED BY—

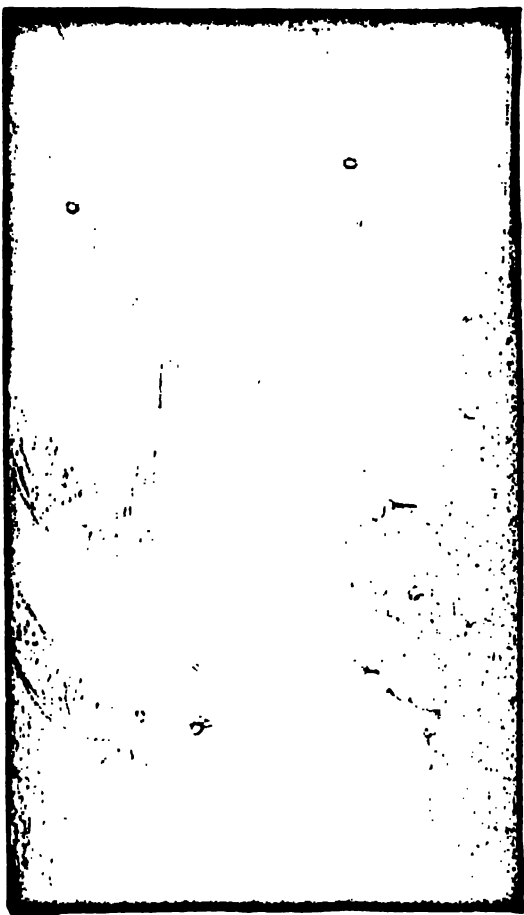
JOHN TRIMBLE, Secretary National Grange.

The Oldest Farmer Organization—What Led to its Formation—Its Triumph—Declaration of Purposes—General Objects—Specific Objects—Business Relations—Education—Grange Non-partisan—Outside Co-operation—Preamble—Why the Grange does not Unite with other Agricultural Organizations—Wherein it agrees with other Organizations—In what it Dissents—Conclusion.



THIS IS the oldest distinctively farmers organization, it started in 1867. For many years it alone represented the main principles for which several national organizations now contend. So successful has it been that the word "granger" is now known as a name for farmers generally. It has fought a battle not only for farmers, but for all classes. It entered on the first fight with railroads, and succeeded in convincing these corporations they were after all not quite as powerful as the general public. Granger legislation, in regard to railroads, had to run the gamut of all the courts of the land. This organization, after struggling in feebleness for several years, suddenly at





PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

ound, became exceedingly popular. It subsequently fell away from this high-water mark. But it was a strong, conservative and practical organization. Our sketch of its history is mainly derived from a lecture delivered by Hon. D. Wyatt Aiken. The number of the Patrons of Husbandry has now been in existence twenty-four years. Its founders are well known, but just how much of the structure each one contributed, they are unable to inform us. Suffice it to say that in January, 1866, Mr. O. H. Kelley, a clerk in the Agricultural Department, was sent by President Johnson upon a mission to see what could be done to revive the agricultural industry of the Southern States, which had been nearly wrecked by war. Kelley journeyed as far

He reasoned that agricultural clubs were neither permanent nor effective; they were ephemeral, and seldom if ever controlled by farmers. State and country fairs were not for farmers alone, but open to the competition of the world. In his soliloquy he queried, why should not farmers join in a league peculiar to themselves, in which others should not be admitted to membership? Such an union would be partisan, and if partisan it should be secret, and if secret it must have a ritual to make it effective and attractive. This process of reasoning rapidly brought him to a conclusion, and forthwith he undertook to execute the ritualistic framework of such an organization.

But to this he required help. Finally six men joined him in the undertaking. It is no slight task to lay the foundation for a successful organization and to plan out the necessary ritual. But they persevered. For nearly two years they wrought with an energy unaccountable, and with a faith amounting almost to inspiration, until they completed a well-devised scheme of organization, based upon a ritual of four degrees for men, and four for women, of great originality of thought, beauty of diction, and purity of sentiment. Having framed a constitution, adapted to this ritual, to govern them, they met on the 4th day of December, 1867, and constituted themselves the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry. During the four years next succeeding, their zeal was nothing abated. Their time, their labor and their

THE GRANGE.

cash were all cheerfully given to scatter of promise far and wide over the Union, fervently believed they were "casting their bread upon the waters." These four years if not years of stagnation, still had but little to stimulate members. They printed circulars and copies of the constitution. At the third annual convention, but few members were present, the worthy master and secretary. But it is recorded that the master, with ability and eloquence, delivered his annual report to his single auditor. This action, however, kindled the spark of life. The first State Grange was organized in Minnesota in 1879. The second was organized in 1871. In 1873 seventeen delegates attended the national convention, six of them were masters of granges. The movement was now on the

the best interests of all other classes as well. "The purposes of the Grange are best set forth in the following official declaration of purposes :

Profoundly impressed with the truth that the National Grange of the United States should definitely proclaim to the world its general objects, we hereby unanimously make this Declaration of Purposes of the Patrons of Husbandry:

GENERAL OBJECTS.

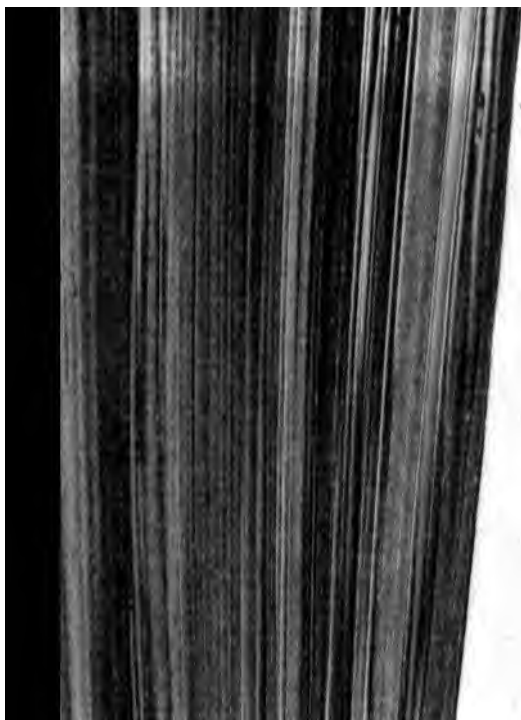
1. United by the strong and faithful tie of Agriculture, we mutually resolve to labor for the good of our order, our country and mankind.

2. We heartily endorse the motto, "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things charity."

SPECIFIC OBJECTS.

3. We shall endeavor to advance our cause by laboring to accomplish the following objects :

To develop a better and higher manhood and womanhood among ourselves. To enhance the comforts and attractions of our homes, and strengthen our attachments to our pursuits. To foster mutual understanding and co-operation. To maintain inviolate our laws, and to emulate each other in labor, to hasten the good time coming. To reduce our expenses, both individual and corporate. To buy less and produce more, in order to make our farms self-sustaining. To diversify our crops and crop no more



tem,
and
sellin
our n
may r
possib
consta
vital b
order
suppres
dices, i
Faithful
mental,

4. F
producers
into the
Hence we

other interests whatever. On the contrary, all our acts and all our efforts, so far as business is concerned, are not only for the benefit of the producer and consumer, but also for all other interests that tend to bring these two parties into speedy and economical contact. Hence we hold that transportation companies of every kind are necessary to our success, that their interests and harmonious action is mutually advantageous, keeping in view the first sentence in our declaration of principles of action, that "individual happiness depends upon general prosperity."

We shall, therefore, advocate for every State the increase in every practicable way of all facilities for transporting cheaply to the seaboard, or between home producers and consumers, all the productions of our country. We adopt it as our fixed purpose to "open out the channels in nature's great arteries, that the life-blood of commerce may flow freely.

We are not enemies of railroads, navigable and irrigating canals, nor of any corporation that will advance our industrial interests, nor of any laboring classes.

In our noble order there is no communism, no agrarianism.

We are opposed to such spirit and management of any corporation or enterprise as tends to oppress the people and rob them of their just profits. We are not enemies to capital, but we oppose the tyranny of monopolies. We long to see the antagonism be-

THE GRANGE.

capital and labor removed by common consent by an enlightened statesmanship worthy of the nineteenth century. We are opposed to excessive prices, high rates of interest, and exorbitant profits in trade. They greatly increase our burden and do not bear a proper proportion to the benefit of producers. We desire only self-protection and the protection of every true interest of our labor in legitimate transactions, legitimate trade and legitimate profits.

EDUCATION.

We shall advance the cause of education among ourselves, and for our children, by all just means within our power. We especially advocate for

ried out, will tend to purify the whole political atmosphere of our country. For we seek the greatest good of all.

We must bear in mind, that no one, by becoming a Patron of Husbandry, gives up that unalienable right and duty which belongs to every American citizen to take proper interest in the politics of his country.

On the contrary, it is right for every member to do all in his power legitimately to influence for good the action of any political party to which he belongs. It is his duty to do all he can to put down bribery, corruption and trickery ; to see that none but competent, faithful and honest men, who will unflinchingly stand by our interests, are nominated for all positions of trust ; and to have carried out the principle which should always characterize every patron, that

The Office Should Seek the Man, and Not the Man the Office.

We acknowledge the broad principle, that difference of opinion is no crime, and hold that " progress toward truth is made by differences of opinion," while " the fault lies in bitterness of controversy."

We desire a proper equality, equity and fairness ; protection for the weak ; restraint upon the strong ; in short, justly distributed burdens and justly distributed power. These are American ideas, the very essence of American independence, and to advocate the contrary is unworthy of the sons and daughters of an American republic.

We cherish the belief that sectionalism is, and should be, dead and buried with the past. Our eyes are for the present and the future. In our agricultural brotherhood and its purposes we shall recognize no North, no South, no East, no West.

It is resolved by every patron, as the right of every man, to affiliate with any party that will best carry out our principles.

OUTSIDE CO-OPERATION.

Ours being peculiarly a farmers' institution we cannot admit all to our ranks.

Many are excluded by the nature of our organization, not because they are professional men, or are

we proclaim it among our purposes to inculcate a proper appreciation of the abilities and sphere of woman, as is indicated by admitting her to membership and position in our Order. Imploring the continued assistance of our Divine Master to guide us in our work, we here pledge ourselves to faithful and harmonious labor for all future time, to return by our united efforts to the wisdom, justice, fraternity and political purity of our forefathers."

The Preamble to their constitution also contains a beautiful presentation of the necessity of organization.

PREAMBLE.

Human happiness is the acme of earthly ambition. Individual happiness depends upon general prosperity.

The prosperity of a nation is in proportion to the value of its productions.

The soil is the source from whence we derive all that constitutes wealth ; without it we would have no agriculture, no manufacturers, no commerce. Of all the material gifts of the Creator, the various productions of the vegetable world are of the first importance. The art of agriculture is the parent and precursor of all arts, and its products the foundation of all wealth.

The productions of the earth are subject to the influence of natural laws, invariable and indisputable ; the amount produced will consequently be in proportion to the intelligence of the producer, and success



mind
has e
views

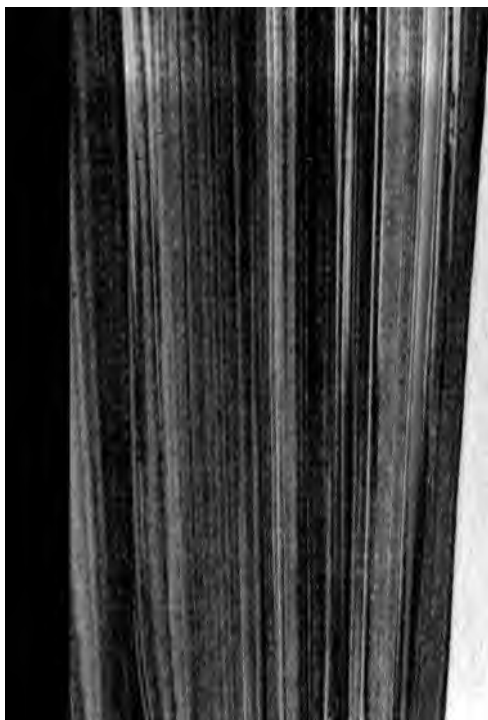
T
ages s
genera
Unity o
and dis
organiza
which bi
iron ; bu
applicatio
that bind.

The
clined to
organizatio
misunderst
Whitehead
but recentl

years of age, and it could not, by attending one or many conferences, more clearly express its position upon the various important economic questions that are at present, and have been for years, agitating our industrial classes. Through its press, its literature, its public speakers and its national and state legislative committees, it clearly declares to the world its policy upon all matters affecting the interests of the farmers, said policy being agreed upon only after faithful discussion in its local, state and national bodies, and officially promulgated as the sense of the great majority of its membership.

It surely should stand to the credit of the Grange organization that after its existence of nearly a quarter of a century so large a number of the planks in its platform have been incorporated, many of them *ad litteratim*, into the platforms of these other organizations that within a few years have come so prominently to the front. So that on these lines, at least, it is plainly to be seen that these other organizations do agree with the National Grange by thus adopting and indorsing its aims and purposes."

They then give a few items to prove the truth of the last assertion. They quote from the Declaration of Purposes adopted in 1873 to show that even then the Grange contended that sectionalism was dead, a thing of the past. They show that the financial legislation now demanded, such as the free coinage of silver, has always been favored by the Grange. The



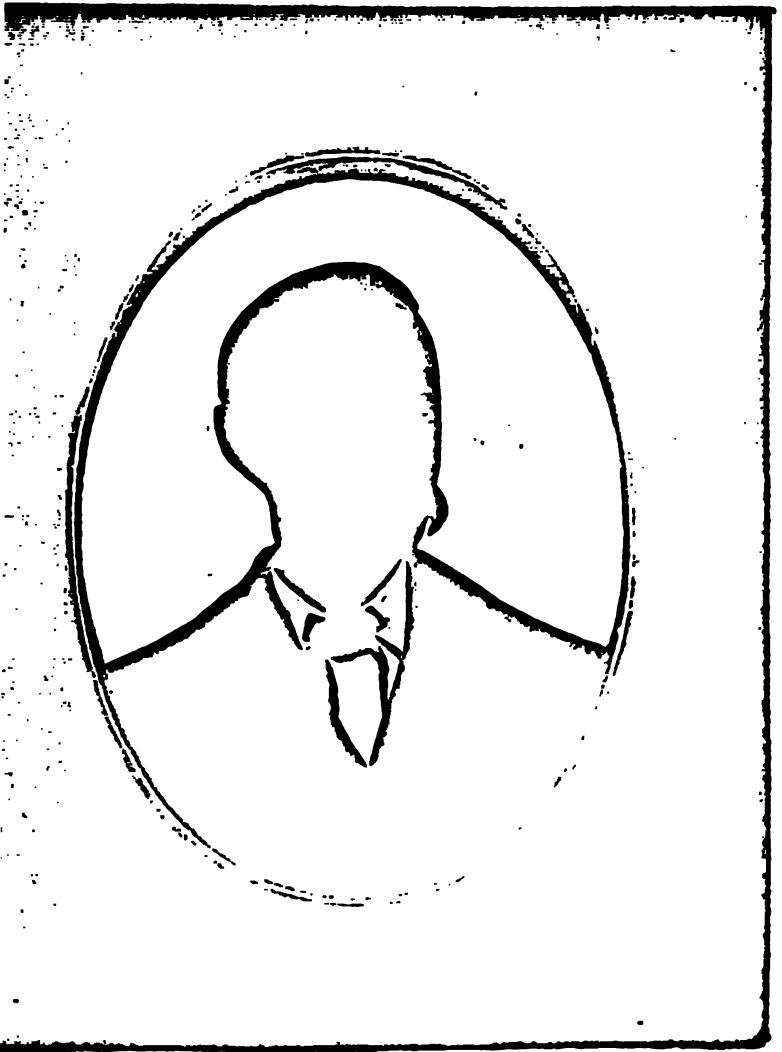
are, the
law, th
the Au
of Agri
uated i
tion dir
kinds, a
tation, e

But
that " th
ers' and
Grange h
tioned wh
tax theory
Knights o
Grange ha
American
palace of
alone. Ne

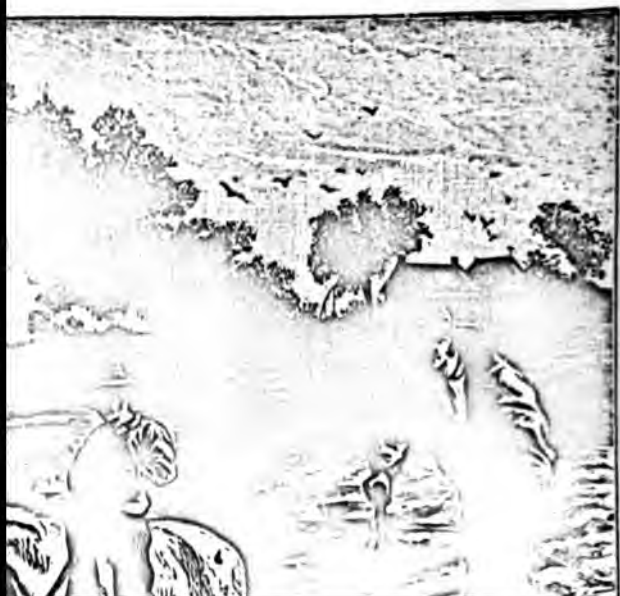
ganizations, feels to be one of the most pressing needs of the hour." The Grange has lived and prospered these many years upon its progressive, and yet conservative, lines of action. In it there is no communism, no agrarianism. Its members are law-abiding citizens, and wage no aggressive warfare against any other legitimate interest whatever.

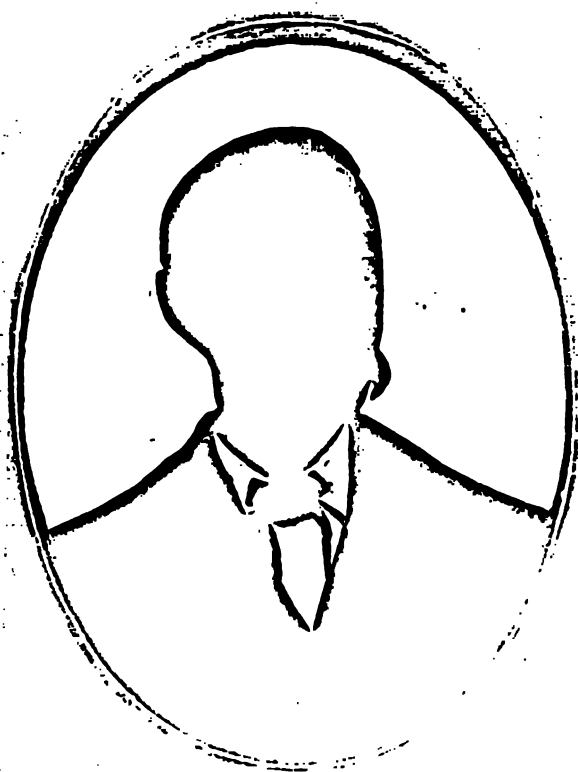
Many other instances might be given to prove the broad, comprehensive character of the Grange organization. Its business system, its life and fire insurance associations, its exchanges, co-operative stores, etc.; its admission of all members of the farmer's family, at least one-third of its members being the mothers, wives, sisters and daughters of the farm; its support of education, temperance, morality and all those things that go to develop a better and higher manhood and womanhood. The Grange has, as above stated, only fraternal feelings for other organizations having for their object the building up of American toilers, whether in field or town, and the perpetuation of our free institutions, it believes that they have among their members tens of thousands who are actuated only by the purest, most philanthropic and patriotic motives. It desires to be good neighbors with them all, will rejoice with them in their victories, but can not be responsible for their mistakes or for all they aim to do. Its membership will "tolerate the faith of others, still clinging closely to their own."





Mortimer Whitehead





Mortimer Whitehead

CHAPTER XVII.

OBJECTS OF THE GRANGE.

—BY—

WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, Lecturer National Grange.

The Grange tested by Experience—The Broad Character of
the Organization—The Grange Means Education—Educates
the Farmer in Business—In Co-operation—Shaping Public Opinion
—Its Teachings tend to Elevate—Quotations
showing its tendencies.



THIS year, 1892, when the Grange

never yet found wanting when its principles have been properly applied. It is a bright and living fact, one of the permanent institutions of our country, as permanent as are our churches or our schools. And as long as we need churches and schools, as long as we have farms and farmers to till them, so long will we need the Grange and so long will it continue its beneficent mission. It has outlived prejudice. It has made itself known and felt. It is stronger to-day and accomplishing more good than at any time in its history.

Unlike other class organizations, the Grange confers its benefits not alone upon its own membership, neither do farmers only reap its rewards. It extends around and beyond its own class, and advances the interests of all. When farmers are prosperous we never hear of hard times in the cities or anywhere else. But when from any reason—short crops, low prices, hard times—agriculture is depressed, then it is that manufacturers talk of “overproduction,” merchants of dull trade, and mechanics, artisans and laborers complain that they can not find work. The preamble to the constitution of the National Grange reads: “Individual happiness depends upon general prosperity. The prosperity of a nation is in proportion to the value of its productions. The soil is the source from whence we derive all that constitutes wealth; without it we would have no agriculture, no manufacture, no commerce. Of all the material gifts of the Creator the various productions of the vegetable

OBJECTS OF THE GRANGE.

and are of the first importance. The art of agriculture is the parent and precursor of all arts, and constitutes the foundation of all wealth." All histories show that where agriculture has prospered the people have prospered. The Grange seeks "the growth of agriculture to the greatest number," and so benefits the farmer, the laborer, trade and commerce, as well as the family.

The Grange is organized on a complete system of local, county, state and national bodies, so that it can be used for local, county, state and national purposes. The same principle of united effort and of strength, runs through all its various branches. Its members "united by the strong and faithful love of agriculture," are keeping step to its march of progress and reform. A mighty army, an army of the people.

waxed strong, for "Truth is mighty and will prevail."

Political parties have their "platforms," churches have their "creeds," our forefathers had their "Declaration of Independence;" so the farmers have their Grange platform, their creed, their "Declaration of Purposes," and it is also given on the pages of this book. It is the foundation, the starting point of this organization. It contains not the words of an individual alone, but it is the "official" language of the Order itself. In it will be found what the Grange always has been, what it is now and what it proposes to be and do in the future. I would commend it to all careful readers and thinkers, and would ask them, are not its contents words of truth and soberness? If these principles are put into practice will any injury result to individuals or to our country? But rather will they not advance the welfare of the family, the neighborhood, the state and the nation. Note also, how these same principles have been incorporated into the platforms of several of the younger farmers' organizations.

In a single word it may be said that the Grange means *education*. It teaches the farmer that he has mind as well as muscle, brains as well as land, and that it pays him to cultivate the one as well as the other, for "knowledge is power." Brain always has ruled muscle and always will. As is the soul above the body, so is brain above muscle. The farmer and his interests will be advanced just in proportion as he

OBJECTS OF THE GRANGE.

gives his education in all things that pertain to his several relations, as a farmer, as a citizen.

The Grange is educating the farmer in many things of business, that it is just as much a part of his business to sell a crop as it is to grow it; just as much to his advantage to know how to spend his money as to earn it. He is learning the laws of supply and demand, how to handle "trusts," "corners," and "futures." He has learned how to combat the great corporations who control the commerce of the country, to secure the passage of an Inter-State Commerce law, and already, in two notable instances, in Vermont and Delaware, the State Granges have brought cases before the Inter-State Commerce Commission.

schools, etc., have been in successful operation for years. Grain elevators, grain warehouses, freight lines, fruit-growers and other "exchanges," and dozens of other organized business helps are springing up more and more in all parts of the country. The "Grange Bank of California," in San Francisco, has been running some fourteen years, with a capital of \$1,000,000 and has loaned \$3,000,000 in a single year upon grain stored in warehouses that farmers themselves have built, and so aided in breaking up "corners" and in getting better prices. Other Grange banks are running successfully in other States.

The Grange is educating the farmer about taxes—equal and unequal, direct and indirect; about finance, scarce money and dear money, or plenty of money and cheap money; about the money furnished one class of citizens by government for one per cent, and for which the people must pay six, eight or ten per cent; about the demonetization of silver (for the few) and the free coinage of silver (for the many); about tariffs—for manufacturers—and free raw materials—also for manufacturers—and farmers left out on both counts; so he has learned to insist upon "equality before the tariff law," and before all laws. He has learned that cash is king; to get out of debt and keep out. That rates of interest for money higher than the average earnings of capital invested in productive industries gives capital an unfair advantage over labor; that English two per cent capital coming over here is

ing millions of acres of our land under fore
because of our high rate of interest ; this sam
foreign capital buying up and running our rail
our mines and our factories, the *profits* all go
oss the Atlantic. Having learned these lesson
ner in the Grange insists upon lower rates c
as a true " protection to American industries.
e farmers are discussing and educating them
upon all questions of political economy. Th
g are the instructions given the Lecturer o
ional Grange in the preparation of official cir
eaflets and tracts for distribution to the Grang
icultural papers, and at Grange meetings.
Resolved That the Worthy Lecturer of th

dent's Cabinet, saved the large appropriation to the States for agricultural education by the limit to be applied *only* in instruction in agriculture and the mechanic arts, etc." It advocates pure food, the Australian ballot law, an income tax, election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, and all laws which will protect our people "in life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Another good feature of Grange education is in politics; not partisan politics, but true politics, "the science of government," as Webster defines the word. The members of the Grange have been learning that wheat, corn, pork, beef, tobacco, rice or cotton raised on a Democratic farm are controlled by the same laws as the products of a Republican farm; that what will injure one farmer will injure another; or the benefit of one is the benefit of his neighbor; that politicians have divided the farmers' birthright of strength by "pairing" them off one against the other in different political parties, and so their votes don't count except for the benefit of others; that parties are all right in their places, but that the people must run the parties, and not the parties the people. The Grange teaches the farmer independent voting, to carry out reforms, inside his own party, if he can, but *outside* of it if he must. Many politicians in all parties have felt the effects of *this* lesson of late.

It is plainly to be seen that it is impossible to give in a brief space all the good points claimed for

and long-tried national farmers organization. Its teachings tends to elevate and not degrade. It has brighter and happier homes, it has its literatures, its social and moral features. It teaches to give their boys and girls a better chance in life of an education ; to have more books, music and flowers. Then, too, farmers have learned to take their mother, daughter and sister, to the Grange where they also need the recreation, the education and benefit ; that as are the mothers so will the daughters also ; that woman's influence in the Grange is for good, for all that is pure. No better and more effective temperance organization exists in the Grange. Charity is a prominent character

judgment; of the Grange. I recognize the Grange as I do any other church. There are qualities in the Grange which I long to transfer to the church. I speak to you this evening of a theme which has been the meditation of my lifetime. 'We are God's husbandry,' says the apostle. That is to say, God intends to grow a crop of men and women, and of all the crops that can be raised upon a farm I know of none more worthy of attention."

The Rev. A. B. Grosh, one of the seven founders of the Grange, now dead, once said: "Let us then show our gratitude to God by conforming to His law, by obedience to His will, by praying, speaking and working to make our order His agent in the improvement of society and in promoting the welfare of our nation and our race. Let us make it a divine institution for the blessing of the laborer, of women, of childhood, that they may make it yet nobler, greater and better in all good ways and words and works."

Having survived its years of trial, its years of perhaps too rapid growth and subsequent creation, this great farmers' organization has for twelve years past been steadily advancing in strength of numbers and in the strong hold it has upon the respect of its membership, and of the people of all classes in our country. Its growth is now healthy and sure. As many as 107 new Granges were started in a single State last year (1890) and the first three months of

now new organizations in twenty of our farmers are uniting with it now through no but from a conviction that it is right, good principles, and that they need it in neighborhood, just as they do a school or a they are therefore as deliberately building to-day as they build the church and trinity of good influences, either one of lacking in any neighborhood leaves that must so much behind the one that has all as "Truth is truth to the day of reck-" "the eternal years of God are hers," so paths taught in the Grange will go onward

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FARMERS' LEAGUE,

—BY—

HERBERT MYRICK, Secretary National League.

What the League is—It is a Political Party—Its Relations to other Bodies—Plan of Organization—Growth of the League—Work of the Local League—Objects of the League—How they prepare to work—Conclusion.



HAVE now given a brief outline of several national organizations of agricultural workers, and it would seem at first sight as if there was no room or need for any further organization. There is, however, a very vigorous organization which finds abundant work at hand, and a field in which to work as yet unoccupied. This introduces us to the Farmers' League. The league is a non-secret, independent, non-partisan organization, in harmony with the grange, alliance and kindred associations, agricultural societies, farmers' clubs and similar organizations. These are mainly devoted to the farmers' social, educational and financial improvement. But the league goes a step further. Its object is the farmers' political welfare: The work of the league is directed toward securing a just repre-





THOMAS JEFFERSON.

THE FARMERS' LEAGUE.

tion and treatment of the agricultural interests in Congress and in the Legislatures, and due recognition of farmers in all public affairs, without conflicting with the best interests of the entire public. It consists of a national league and of state leagues, with county and town leagues. The national league has general supervision of the affairs of the farmers' league, and the work of organization, and attends specially to the farmers' interests in Congress. The state leagues are organized, push the work of organization in their respective states, and attend to the farmers' interests in the Legislature. The county leagues attend to the farmers' interests in county matters, and to affairs in senatorial and representative districts. The town leagues furnish the delegates to

tages for himself and his family, overcoming in a great measure the isolation of farm life. It means financial advantage in the help to be secured from co-operative buying and selling. It also means increased educational development in the line of agriculture, the principles of government and general culture. But there come times when this is not enough. The Grange may have taught the farmer his political duties, it may have instructed him in the principles of political science, but when it comes to taking direct action in partisan politics, the grange keeps aloof, and the machinery of some other organization is needed. The Farmers' League is organized for this specific purpose, and in all cases where direct political action is needed we recommend it to the farmers, that the Grange may not be swerved from its original purpose of non-participation in partisan politics, and thereby weakened.

We must not make the mistake of supposing the league is a new political party. Its work is for the benefit of the whole community and all classes. It aims to repeal and abolish special favors to other classes. It seeks no favors for farmers at the expense of other people, except only at the expense of the gamblers and monopolists who are now living on the life-blood of the common people. It is not a scheme to put farmers in office irrespective of their qualifications. But it is the determination of the league to secure the nomination of the very best men by both parties and the election of the men who will best rep-

THE FARMERS' LEAGUE.

ent what the farmers want, yet let all non-farmers be all officers elected be farmers as far as possible. It is not a scheme to overturn the government or to go into socialism. But it is simply a means through which farmers may work effectively in carrying out their public duties as citizens. It is not a failure. But through the league farmers can make their vote count for their own interests and for the welfare of the whole public, instead of simply electing the politician who wants office for what he can get out of it, irrespective of the real welfare of the people. No matter to what party they may belong.

The plan of organization is extremely simple. No system of secrecy is required of members. They s

control of both parties. In other words, the League says, "farmers of America, let us attend to our own business; let us do our duties as true and patriotic citizens; but let us do it in such a way that our efforts will succeed."

The League is a very recent organization, but has had a rapid growth. It originated in Massachusetts. The dairy interests of the farmers of that State constitute no inconsiderable item of their income. They suffered greatly from bogus butter and cheese. They especially desired the legislature to enact a bill to prevent the manufacturers of oleomargarine and bogus cheese from coloring them like the genuine article, but they could procure the passage of such a law. Realizing that these and other wrongs suffered by farmers could never be secured by simply petitioning for justice, the New England Homestead, early in the fall of 1889, suggested that the farmers' political league be organized to carry these reforms squarely into politics, and make the issue in all primaries, caucuses and conventions of all parties. The idea met with instant favor. The Farmers' League of Massachusetts was temporarily organized in October, and there not being time enough to perfect permanent organizations in every township in season for elections, the plan was adopted of circulating a pledge among the voters in agricultural districts, irrespective of party, whereby they bound themselves "to vote only for such candidates for governor and for the leg-

re as shall pledge themselves to work and vote
bill to prohibit the coloring of oleo like butter.
The results were so satisfactory that the move-
attracted the instant attention of farmers gen-
. As a consequence, the officers of the Massa-
etts State League were overwhelmed with
sts to start the movement in other States. To
this demand the Farmers' National League was
y organized, and a temporary constitution and
rs elected, the same in all essential respects as
elected and adopted at the permanent organiza-
of the National League in Albany, N. Y., Sept.
90. With this to head the movement, rapid
ess in forming permanent leagues among the

start has also been made in every other state and territory, the work in which is now advancing so rapidly that by 1892 the state organization will be perfected in every state and territory of the United States.

The league is built up from the basis of the local or township organization. The local school district or township league is the foundation of the entire superstructure. This local or foundation league is started in each town by five or more bona-fide farmers securing a charter and outfit from the national league. Then all future members are voted in, a majority vote being sufficient to admit a member. Membership is confined to farmers or those directly interested in agriculture. Mechanics who hold small farms or tracts of land, which they work when not engaged at their trade, may be admitted if the local league so desires. But professional men, especially lawyers, are excluded. This makes every local league the judge as to who shall be admitted to membership. Thus a safe-guard is put up against letting in political tricksters, aristocratic office holders and others who have no business in the league and who would use it to simply further their own ends. Where any question arises as to the advisability of admitting any candidate for membership, a ruling on the subject will be made by the national secretary on application. Thus the local league may avoid making a decision in certain cases which might cause some ill-feeling were they to refuse to admit some person who, although personally very ex-

may have no real interest in the farmers' movement and not be any help to the League. Women, eligible to membership on the same terms as men. From what we have said as to the purposes of the League we can see at once that the precise objects to be remedied will vary with different localities. For instance, protection against fraudulent dairy products is especially desired in some of the Eastern States. Other evils to be remedied are of much greater importance.

Equal taxation is demanded in nearly every State. The following specific demands were adopted by the national league in 1890: In tariff matters we demand that the farmers' labor and products be

principles of the Australian ballot law should be universally adopted.

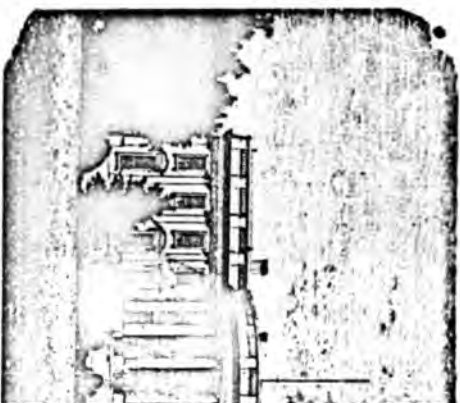
Immigration should be more faithfully restricted, and alien land ownership prohibited. Inasmuch as the declared object of the league is to work for the farmers' interest in the arena of politics, they must be expected to take hold in a way that shows they mean business. No half-way measures will enable farmers to compete with well-organized cliques in every community that runs existing parties. Talking it over in the grange or alliance or calling a meeting to discuss the situation is not enough. Even a union of these organizations by delegates does not cover the case. No loose methods or unorganized plans will accomplish much. The only way is for the bonafide farmers of each township to unite in a local "farmers' political league," with the specific object of running the caucuses and conventions of all parties. Once thoroughly organized for this job, farmers will quickly find that they have both the brains and the numbers to carry it out.

In their league meetings, while all subjects of interest to farmers and their families may be discussed and considered, the members of the League should keep constantly before them the fact that their principal object is the farmers' political welfare. Consequently, efforts should be concentrated on this subject as much as possible. Discuss what farmers most want from the town, county, state or nation. Having de-

on the measures wanted then the League members are supposed to bend all their energies to secure the election of the man or men who will best help the measures. Candidates are decided upon. A slate for each political party that is expected to carry the ticket in the field. Should these candidates be elected then the contest will be simply in the old lines. Should but one be nominated, then the members of the League are supposed to lose sight of the League and vote and work for their candidate who is elected.

It is evident that we have in the Farmers' League a simple but very practical and extremely powerful engine for advancing such legislation as the

ment shall be by the people, for all the people. In this grand work of fulfilling their political duties as citizens, farmers will receive the hearty support of patriotic men and women in all honorable vocations. This practical assumption of self-government by the producers of our great republic will effectually guard our beloved country against the evil tendencies which now beset it. Let the farmers but lead the way through the farmers' league, and without multiplying political parties, they can unite all faithful citizens in the work of reforming existing abuses in local, county, state and national affairs. Certainly the men who stand by the right in this bloodless revolution of the ballot-box, do equally as patriotic work for their country as did their forefathers who laid its foundations with fire and sword more than one hundred years ago.



THE WHITE I



M. H. SMITH,
SUPREME SECRETARY PATRONS OF INDUSTRY

PATRONS OF INDUSTRY.

CHAPTER XIX.

PATRONS OF INDUSTRY.

— BY —

W. H. SMITH, Supreme Secretary.

Not Confined to Agriculturalists—Preamble—The Objects
of the Order—The Working Machinery—Co-operati
—System of Arbitration—The Patent Laws—Scheme
Money—Their Relations to other Organizations.



WE HAVE now considered several o
ganizations of agriculturalist

of labor, tending to an absorbence by the favored few of the wealth produced: which process has already concentrated so much of the wealth of the country in a few hands, that a minority dictate the government policy of our nation to favor monopoly and oppressively increase the burdens of honest, unprotected toil, which, long continued, must result in the servile dependence of poverty stricken masses: upon the unscrupulous, avaricious domination of the aristocratic few, while the farmers and employes upon whose labor the prosperity of our country depends are either unorganized or with so little cohesion as to be unable to compete with the powerful combinations which grow rich and more powerful by the unjust and dishonest exactions which the continually changing conditions enable them to make upon those at whose expense they live and thrive.

We, therefore, the citizens, farmers and employes of North America, believing that Almighty God, as the source of all power and ruler of all nations, should be recognized in the constitutions of all societies, states and nations, do hereby, with due reverence to Him, associate ourselves together, and do most solemnly pledge ourselves, one to another and each to all, to labor together in uncompromising hostility to all monopolistic encroachments upon our rights by the combinations herein before named, and for the governmental control or prohibition of any business or methods that tend to encourage or enable the few to lead

ease and luxury, in idleness, at the expense of
ing masses, or that tend to degrade or demor-
e people or render them, through its effects, a
to their friends and a burden upon producing

the objects of the order are to secure the rights
interests of agriculturalists and laborers by the
such legitimate means and measures as will se-
each those inalienable rights guaranteed by
declaration of American Independence and to
e their rights and interests by protecting them
ns of independent co-operative political action
e rapacious and avaricious greed of organized
ply."

of course, evident that this is a false and

several associations. There is first the Supreme Association, which is the highest tribunal of the order. It consists of the officers, a board of three trustees and delegates from the various state associations, otherwise known as Grand Associations. A state is not entitled to a Grand Association unless it has at least six county associations, and a county association cannot be formed unless there are at least four subordinate associations in it. It thus appears that the subordinate association is the unit of organization. It requires at least ten members to form an association. An applicant must receive at least a two-third vote of all the members present. Ladies are admitted to membership as well as gentlemen. No oath is required, the applicant is received upon his honor as a citizen. As for age, each subordinate association settles this matter to suit itself.

This order has some provisions in its By-Laws not found in the organizations already considered. In the case of sickness or death of a member we find the following: It shall be the duty of all subordinate associations to appoint a relief committee to visit the sick and report immediately to the President, who shall see to it that suitable watchers are provided each night if necessary; and the subordinate association may by its by-laws, provide for a sick benefit fund, and for other extraordinary association purposes. In case of the death of a member of any subordinate association a meeting of the association shall be immediately

and adjoining associations shall be notified, and members of the association shall attend the in a body, but in no case shall there be any ceremonies performed by the association as each member present shall wear crape on the as a token of respect for the deceased member. They have also provided for a system of arbitration in any disagreement between two or more of an association, concerning business transactions which can not be settled by the parties, the of the association shall inquire into the circumstances of the case and shall recommend to the an arbitration, consisting of five, two chosen plaintiff and two by the defendant, which four so chosen shall choose a fifth. The arbiters

appeal to the grand association, to which an exact record of the proceedings and testimony of the trial shall be sent, and their decision shall be final.

As a whole the Patrons of Industry desire substantially the same legislation as the organizations we have already described. In general we read that they demand such legislation, state and national, as will check the advance in financial and political power of all classes of corporations, monopolists and trusts, and restrain and prevent them from further encroachments upon the rights and prosperity of the laboring and producing classes.

As for patent laws, they demand such a revision of our patent laws as will limit the rights of patentees to a shorter period of time, not exceeding ten years, and so limit the issue of patents as to prevent the multiplication of mere improvements and devices of little or no real invention or practical work, but which are used to increase the expense of implements and tools to the farmer and consumer and put exorbitant profits into the pockets of manufacturers and capitalists.

While they "favor a co-operative commercial warehouse system" still they do not want any sub-treasury plan or scheme. They declared in favor of the following scheme for loaning of public funds :

In view of the fact that upon the prosperity and independence of the farmers depends the welfare and comfort of the nation, and that from them a large percentage of the funds of the government are derived ;

we demand that the government enact laws by which money may be loaned to the people on a real estate security, at a sufficiently low rate of interest to free their home from the grasp of exorbitant interest, and prove our institutions to be a protection in need.

While the order is anxious to keep up its own separate organization, still they believe in co-operation with all reform organizations, this is set forth in the following report.

Recognizing the fact that trusts, combinations and monopolies are organized for the sole purpose of extracting unjust and unreasonable profits, and that taxation is the most discriminating and unjust, is imposed.

organizations that have for their object the improvement of the condition of the toiling masses.

Resolved, That the history of the past teaches us that longer co-operation with the two old political parties of the country will only retard the realization of the reasonable demands of kindred fraternal organizations.

Resolved, That we extend the hand of co-operation and friendship to all true reform organizations, and to further such relations in North America, we ask this Supreme Association to elect a committee of five and empower them to confer with other industrial organizations with a view of devising ways and means whereby we may be enabled to obtain political recognition, both state and national, as our interests demand.

In conclusion, we, the Patrons of Industry of North America, commend the noble purposes of all industrial and reform fraternal organizations formed for the purpose of bettering the condition of the toiling masses, and we do hope that an early understanding may be reached whereby we may not be laboring against each other, thereby postponing the time when our fondest hopes may be realized.





Hiram Hawkins

HAWKINSVILLE. ALA.
MASTER ALABAMA STATE GRANGE.

CHAPTER XX.

INSTRUMENTS OF THE GRANGE IN THE SOUTH.

— BY —

COL. HIRAM HAWKINS,

Master of the Alabama State Grange.

Introduction—The Great Debt the South Owes the Grange—
Condition of the South at the Close of the War—Carpet
Overthrown by the Grange—Specimen Laws—The Edu-
cation of the Grange—Government of the Best Classes
Possible by the Grange—The Victory—Grange Legisla-
tion—Improved Financial Condition Due to the Grange—Breaking

place made desolate by the horrors of relentless and desolate war.

This inspiration of thought budded and bloomed and grew into the development of the organization of "Patrons of Husbandry"—the Grange. Those building built wiser than they knew. The Grange came, at the opportune time, and swept over the country like an angel of mercy and peace, spreading joy and gladness, inspiring hope and establishing confidence in all who came under its benign influence.

To properly understand and realize the great achievements of the Grange in the South it is necessary to know something of the condition and surroundings of the people of the South, especially the agricultural class, when the Grange made its advent. None but those who have personal knowledge can fully realize the seeming helplessness, the despondency and the gloom, without a ray of hope for the future, of the people of the rural districts.

In speaking for the South let us take the state of Alabama, of which the writer can speak from personal knowledge, as a type of the Southern State, for the history of one is the history of all in these dire and calamitous times.

CONDITION OF THE STATE IN 1873-4.

The state government was in the hands of carpet baggers and negroes, the labor of the country demoralized, virtue morality and intelligence in high places

ed by vice, corruption and ignorance. The
d farmer openly threatened by those in power
fication of his lands by taxation. His flocks
erds, which formerly roamed field and forest
were consumed by unknown parties. Thieves
ne public highway in open day and committed
ions with impunity upon the growing crops

These midnight thieves could find ready
their stolen plunder at the cross road—"dead
res, so called—and as if to invite the lawless-
Legislature, in 1872, passed what was known
personal recognizance" law. By this law the
en arrested for his crime, instead of being re-
give bond or go to jail to await the action of

alism is, and of right should be dead and buried with the past. Our work is for the present and the future. 'In our agricultural brotherhood and its purposes we shall recognize no North, no South, no East, no West.' "Organize! Organize! In organization is the hope of the farmer, the salvation of the country." This helpful message found fruitful soil. The great desire to better their condition caused the farmers to organize rapidly. Before the close of November, '73, hundreds of granges had been organized. Nearly every county had its grange encampment. This up-building of the Grange seemed to be spontaneous and general over all the South.

As the farmers came together in the Grange, pledged to labor for the good of their cause, their country and mankind, it was but natural, in the interchange of their experience and pledges of fidelity, that they should become united as never before for mutual aid and mutual understanding, as to how the best interests of their families their homes and their country could be attained.

The first important step taken for self-preservation which came under the observation of the writer was a pledge by all the members of a grange that they would neither give employment, home or shelter to any one who was known to be a thief, and objectionable on this account to any member of the Grange, and that they would prosecute, to conviction if possible, every one thereafter known to be guilty of theft.

the better element of the colored people on our
were taken into our confidence and they readily
ingly, to their credit be it said, co-operated
the members of the Grange in ferreting out noto-
characters, many of whom, for want of shelter
rce to leave the state. This is but one of the
great material and moral achievements of the
in the South, which has never, so far as the
nows, been given to the public. Great indeed
as a measure of relief to the country.

ct, however great were these evils, they were
mpared with the great political incubus—un-
ous, ignorant and oppressive, which like a black
ag over a patient and suffering people. The
treasury was bankrupt; the credit of the state

school and re-enslave them. Any negro who refused to join the oath-bound league was not only ostracised but expelled from his church, simply to oppose the league was to put his life in danger. Some, for this offense, were terribly beaten and their lives threatened. Onimous, indeed, were such times, and portentous of evil. But the crisis had come and must be met.

Men of intelligence, honesty and virtue must control the country or it must be abandoned to the negro and his corrupt allies. Here the Grange as an educator played a most important part. Although the farmer had enjoyed but eighteen months schooling in the Grange, their voices have been heard echoing and re-echoing from every hill-top and in every valley in the land. They comprehended fully the importance of the impending crisis. The country was aroused and united. The educational influence of the Grange made it easy for every white man in town, city, hamlet and county to join hand in hand.

The negroes had forced the race issue and this made it possible to unite every white man except those who were using the negro for personal gain. The only question at the polls was "white supremacy," or "negro rule." The members of the Grange explained the situation to the more conservative and intelligent of their negro employes and tenants, pledged protection and immunity to every one who would vote with them against any trouble from any of their own race. They pointed out that the carpet baggers and

of their color had made political slaves of them
ing them to join the league and vote as they
d against their best friends, who had furnished
omes and employment. They told the negroes
that as they had made it a race question all
e men who had any character or regard for
untry had banded themselves together and in-
to rule the country. They denounced the
baggers and defied the negroes who opposed
dared to molest any negro who voted with
They warned them that any negro who mo-
nother because he voted or took sides with
ite friends would do so at his peril.
e contest for white supremacy was sharp and

without regard to party, on the color line, against the negro "rule or ruin" policy.

White supremacy was triumphant, the carpet baggers left the country or went out of place and power. The black league dissolved and has never been reorganized. The country is happy and prosperous, and results speak for themselves.

In this connection the writer deems it proper to give an extract from an address of welcome to the State Grange of Alabama by one of Alabama's most worthy, talented and honored citizens, who was cognizant of the great work which the Grange as an educational factor had accomplished. On the 16, 17 and 18 days of July, 1889, the State Grange held its 17th annual session in the city of Clayton, Alabama. Hon. J. J. Winn, Mayor of the city, delivered the address of welcome, addressing the State Grange, he said: "In behalf of the municipal authorities I greet and welcome you, not with cold formality, but genuinely, cordially, heartily—yes thrice welcome as the representatives of a noble order, which in the darkest days of our beloved state was one of the main factors in arousing Alabama's sons from a mental apathy that was appalling—dangerous alike to material prosperity and civil liberty. You caused us to think, you stimulated us to action, thereby retrieving our fortunes and wresting the government of the state from the rule and ruin of ignorance and aliens."

The Hon. Mayor spoke truly, the Grange was

the main factors in arousing the people to the appreciation of the dangerous and appalling into which they had involuntarily drifted. The of the Grange in its great educational work been confined to its membership. Besides its d county meetings and grange encampments, s of public meetings were held, lectures and es made, so that it is impossible to measure uence for good for which the Grange should edit.

he language of the Honorable Mayor referred Grange caused the people to think and stimu- em to action, and thus redeemed the country il and political corruption and financial ruin. ed good, even on bad soil it has produced

of the people. Fraud, corruption and ignorance were dethroned; honesty, virtue and intelligence resumed control. The State Grange met in Montgomery, the State Capital, in its second annual session, December, 1874, representing six hundred and fifty subordinate granges, but all endorsed its Declaration of Purposes then as all do now.

They demanded the repeal of some laws, one was the odious Personal Recognizance law; other important legislation was demanded to meet the changed condition of the country, its agriculture and its people. The Alabama Legislature being also in session, the State Grange passed resolutions favoring certain measures and appointed a committee to memorialize the former body and if possible to secure the needed legislation.

The laws thus recommended were enacted. Some of them are here mentioned by title, to wit: "To make posting notices on premises sufficient to prevent trespass on lands, whether the same are enclosed or not." "To prevent the wanton and malicious burning of woodland at any season of the year." "To make it a felony to steal any part of an ungathered crop of corn or cotton." "To make it a felony to steal any description of live stock, without regard to the value of the same."

The Grange also memorialized the Legislature at the same session to provide by law for a geological survey of the state, which request was granted by a

quent Legislature. These laws were absolutely necessary for the protection of the agricultural interests of the country. The penalties for petty larceny were very inadequate to prevent the continuous depredations upon young stock and upon the fields of the growing and matured crops of corn and cotton.. If a hog or yearling happened to escape from the enclosure near the farm-house and found its way to the plantation it seldom ever returned. Many wholesome laws were secured to the farmers through the influence of the Grange. Through its influence also the cross-road "deadfall" disappeared, before a law was enacted with heavy penalties, forbidding the purchase of any farm product after sundown and before sun-rise, and by hedging out the

less victims on which to prey than the tillers of the soil. It is needless to say that all the profits of the farm went to feed the insatiable greed of the money power, either to the soulless corporation, the advancing merchant or the money lender. Two and a half to three per cent. a month was the usual rate for the money lender, though five per cent. at times was demanded and obtained.

The regular average of the advancing merchant on time was fifty cents on the dollar added to his cash price, payable out of the proceeds of the farm. The average time on the aggregate amount thus obtained in no case exceeding five months, thus making the rate of interest ten per cent. per month. No other industry in the world and no other agricultural section of the country could have so long endured and survived such a strain.

Practically, the farmers were tenants upon their land, paying rentals in the shape of interest. Massive structures and palatial residences were seen going up in all the money centers. Travelers as well as the casual observer at home wondered at the marvelous growth and prosperity of the towns as compared with that of the country.

THE GRANGE TO THE RESCUE.

One of the grand missions of the Grange was to relieve the farmer of financial oppression. The National Grange at its annual session held in St. Louis,

, published to the world its famous Declaration of Principles, which, under the head of "Business Principles," declare that "the Grange wages no warfare against any legitimate business or industry, but we are opposed to such management of any corporation or enterprise as tend to oppress the people and rob them of their just profits. We are not enemies to capital, but we are opposed to the tyranny of monopoly. We long to see the antagonism between labor and capital removed by common consent, and by an enlightened statesmanship worthy of the 19th century. We desire only self-protection, and that of every true citizen of our land by legitimate trade and legitimate industry."

The Grange plants itself squarely upon this declaration of principles and goes before the people. The

to the power which created it. Previous to that decision the railroad king could sit in his palace and dictate transportation rates. Traffic rates fluctuated with the market. If the price of produce advanced a click of the wire could absorb all the profits in the enhanced freight charges. After the decision of the Supreme Court the curtain rises and how changed the scene—the railroads are quietly under control, being regulated like other industries—by the laws of the land. They are not ruined as predicted, on the contrary, they grow, multiply and prosper under the fostering care of the people's protectors.

This great grange victory has not only saved millions to the farmers of the great West who inaugurated and stood in the fore-front of the battle, but millions to the farmers of the South, the North, the East. Truly the Grange has accomplished a great work, and with its coming a new era dawns upon the South, new life, new energy, brighter hopes and fonder expectations inspire confidence. The plow-share of thought brightens as the quickened pace of the farmer makes ready his fertile fields which promise a fair reward for his toil.

Meanwhile, while the farmers in the South having been awakened to a sense of their true condition and believing that the organized power of the Grange was equal to any emergency lost no time in turning its batteries upon the credit system, the mortgage system and every other system tending to prodigality and

ruptcy. Capital intrenched in its strongholds
forth only when an opportunity offers to prey
the wants and necessities of the people. Relief
not to be expected in a day, but it was only a
on of time when the united efforts of the farmers
bring success.

In addition to the heavy per cent. with which the
was burdened for advance to make his crop,
little less oppressive demands were made upon
for storing and handling his crop when ready
market. The warehouse commission merchant
added war prices which were double the charges
e-bellum days.

time would permit many incidents in the history

warehouse built and leased to them, without a dollar to start with. Charges were reduced to half the rates of the other houses and the enterprise proved to be a grand success. Before the season was out all opposition had disappeared and the Grange fixed the rates for the future at fifty cents a bale for the year, and this charge was to cover all commissions as well as storage. This was a grand and signal triumph of the Grange over organized capital in the hands of a combination of strong business men. Making an estimated saving of \$25,000 annually in the one item, and saving, in the aggregate, in round numbers, \$400,000 to date.

The great power and influence of the Grange in attacking the credit system by encouraging the farmers to grow more home supplies, and sell less of what they do grow at home, and as far as possible make their farms self-sustaining; to buy nothing on time at credit prices; borrow money when necessary and pay cash, or, failing to borrow money, contract with the advancing merchant for goods at cash prices and pay interest instead of credit rates. This latter plan is the one generally adopted unless better arrangements can be made.

The estimated saving to the farmers in this way is believed to be not less than \$50,000 annually for the farmers at any important point. What must have been the saving to the farmers of the state, and in all the states? Does it not go far to justify the claims

the Grange has saved to the farmers millions and millions during its national existence? Wonderful as have been the financial achievements of the Grange, its chief aim has not been money making. Something nobler, grander has been its great mission as reflected in the moral power, the intellectual power and the sublime beauty of its educational and elevating character and molding public senti-



CHAPTER XXI.

THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE
AND INDUSTRIAL UNION.

— REVIEWED BY —

COL. L. L. POLK, President of the National Alliance.

Distinction between the two Alliances—Plan of Organization—The Constituents of the Alliance—The Movement in Texas—The Union of Louisiana—The Wheel in Arkansas—The Union at St. Louis—Who is Permitted to enter—Objects—Sketch of its Constitution—The Sub-Treasury Plan—Historical Precedents—Present Condition of the Movement.



IS generally known that there are two national organizations in this country known in general terms as the National Farmers' Alliance, the full title, however, of the organization we are about to describe is the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, its headquarters are in Washington, D. C., and it is the principal organization in the South and Southwest, but it is rapidly extending its organization elsewhere, since it is estimated that at the next annual meeting more than thirty state organizations will be represented. Sometimes this body is spoken of as the Southern Alliance in distinction to the Northern Alliance. The

ence between the two great alliances largely concerning details of organization, though they do not differ as to the advisability of what is known as the treasury plan, this will be outlined later on.

From what description we have given of the National Farmers' Alliance of the North we have seen that the organization was exceedingly simple. The National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union have recently recognized the truth that it is organization that conquers the world. The secret work of the Alliance, of course, not known to the general public, shows that the constitution presents a wonderfully effective system of organization. At first glance we would think it quite complex and yet it has apparently proven itself satisfactory. We will shortly present an outline of the plan. The Alliance North makes no distinction

first started at nearly the same time in two states, Texas and New York, but we must at present confine our attention to the Texas Alliance.

The first Farmers' Alliance was organized in Lampasas County, Texas, in 1876. The objects were to resist the unlawful depredations of cattle and land thieves and bring the law-breakers to justice. This organization was very defective. W. T. Baggett, who was a member of this organization, moved to Poolville, in Parker County, and organized the first Alliance in Parker County in 1879. The organization from the beginning rapidly spread out, and the first State Alliance was organized at Central, in Parker County, in 1879, under the name and style of "Farmers' Alliance." The name was changed to the Farmers' State Alliance in 1881. The organization continued to grow and spread throughout North and Central Texas until at the meeting held in Cleburne, Johnson County, Texas, on August 6, 1889, eighty-four counties were represented. At this meeting the declaration of purposes of the order were perfected and adopted.

Up to that date the Alliance movement of the South was confined principally to the State of Texas. The State Alliance of that state had chartered a few sub-Alliances in Indian Territory and a small number in the State of Alabama. The report of the State Secretary at the regular annual meeting of that year showed that the order had grown from about six hundred to over twenty-seven hundred sub-Alliances

g the year that ended in August, 1886. As a
al and unavoidable consequence of such rapid
nization the principles, objects and methods of
Alliance were imperfectly understood by the ma-
of the membership.

As a consequence there was considerable confu-
and even dissatisfaction, there were even two
state organizations in Texas. To settle these
ences a called meeting of the Alliance was held
aco in January, 1887, this marks an important
in the history of the movement. Four hundred
ates assembled, all differences were healed and
tensive scheme of work embracing the Cotton
states was mapped out. It was at this meeting

merely as a debating society. The debates having taken an economic turn, the opposition to monopoly and corruption in politics soon became a cardinal principle with the infant organization.

In March, 1882, there were three clubs in Prairie County, with about two hundred members, and it was decided to incorporate under the state laws. A meeting of the three societies was called and a platform and declaration of principles adopted. Suggestions for a name were called for, and as the members were mainly farmers they wished to adopt a name suggestive of the agricultural calling. Several names were mentioned, among which were "The Plow," "The Wagon," "The Reaper" and several others, all of which were objected to, until finally "The Wheel" was suggested and accepted as the name of the order. From this the organization was chartered and thenceforth gained rapidly in membership and strength.

The National Wheel was organized in 1886. This organization would doubtless have grown to great proportions; but the motto that "in union there is strength" applies to the farmer's movement as to everything else. As in the case of the Farmers' Union of Louisiana, there was no good reason why the Wheel should not join its forces to the others. Accordingly, at a meeting at Meridian, Mississippi, held in 1888, a plan of union was agreed upon. The name of the organization formed by the union of the Alliance

The Wheel was at first the "Farmers' and Labor-Union of America." But at its first meeting in St. Louis, in 1889, the name was changed to that which it now bears. We must notice, however, that the names of the state orders are not uniform; some are State Alliances, some State Unions or Wheels, as they may choose, consequently the county or subordi- nate bodies may be either Alliances, Wheels or Unions, or anything else they may choose, but all are subject to the constitution of the national and use the same method of work and work under a charter from it.

As we would naturally expect, organizations of this kind can not admit every one who chooses to apply for membership. The following classes are excluded from membership in the Alliance: Merchants,

bodies. They may be summarized as follows: To better the condition of the farmers of America, mentally, morally and financially; to suppress personal, sectional and national prejudices, all unhealthful rivalry and selfish ambition; to return to the principles on which this government was founded by adhering to the doctrine of equal rights and equal chances to all and special privileges to none; to educate and commingle with those of the same calling to the end that country life may become less lonely and more social; to assist the weak with the strength of the strong, thereby rendering the whole body more able to resist, and to bequeath to posterity conditions that will enable them as honest, intelligent, industrious producers to cope successfully with the exploiting class of middlemen.

The methods pursued are of three kinds, social, business and political. The social methods are such as may be secured by meeting together and becoming better acquainted with neighbors and a friendly exchange of ideas as to the practical detail of farm work. The business methods take a wider range and depend upon co-operation in county and state business efforts to secure the highest price for the produce raised for sale, and the lowest price on the commodities that must be purchased. The political methods are strictly non-partisan, and must ever remain so, because every candidate, before taking the pledge, is assured that it will in no way conflict with his political or religious views. All political parties are represented in its ranks.

all are expected to work in their respective parties to secure a just recognition of the rights of the farmer. The motto of the order is: "In things essential unity, in all things charity." All questions in political economy will be thoroughly discussed, and when the order can agree on a reform as necessary they will demand it of the government and of every political party, and if the demand goes unheeded they will devise means to enforce it. The most essential reforms must come from legislation, but that does not necessarily relieve the responsibility of choosing candidates and filling the offices. Such a course may become necessary but will not be resorted to under any other circumstances.

The president is the chief executive officer. He has power to direct and instruct all executive officers and all executive work. He is the one to interpret the meanings of the laws of the order by official rulings, and such rulings have the force and effect of laws. They must, however, be presented to the judiciary department for consideration, and if they refuse to concur then they must be held in abeyance until the Supreme Council meets and passes upon them. He is assisted in his duties by an advisory board known the Executive Board, composed of three members elected by the Supreme Council.

The judiciary department consists of three judges elected by the Supreme Council. We have just stated they have a qualified veto on the rulings and decisions of the president, they can suspend them until the Supreme Council passes on them. In addition it is their duty to try and decide grievances and appeals affecting the officers or members of the Supreme Council and to try appeals from state bodies.

In addition to the foregoing machinery the Supreme Council in 1890 provided for the formation of a "National Legislative Council," this is composed of the presidents of all the state alliances and the national president. This council is to formulate measures and devise methods to secure the enactment of laws desired by the Supreme Council. They are to appoint three of their members to devote their energies to securing proper consideration of measures wanted.

In view of the organization as we have now set it, it is not surprising that the Alliance has accomplished much during its short existence. Many of the States have for their business organized State Exchange Exchanges, with a large stock paid in, that enables them to purchase machinery and commodities at wholesale prices and assists them in the sale of their produce, and these efforts, besides the actual saving made to those who trade with them, save the farmers millions of dollars every year by the effect they have in reducing the general profits of the merchant middleman. The most marked results, however, that have attended this great movement are the result of the political education which has attended it, and the breaking of the old sectional prejudices of a

the North. Now in this matter there are, of course, exceptions on both sides, it is not true that all the members of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union favor this plan, nor is it true that all the members of the National farmers' Alliance condemn it. But this remark is true of the majority in each case. It is therefore necessary to give a short outline of this plan.

In the first place then, what is the Sub-Treasury plan? Briefly, it is a proposition that the United States authorities establish in every county of each of the states that offers for sale during the year five hundred thousand dollars worth of farm products, including wheat, corn, oats, barley, rye, rice, tobacco, cotton, wool and sugar, all together, a sub-treasury office, which shall have in connection with it such warehouses or elevators as are necessary for carefully storing and preserving such agricultural products as are offered it for storage. They would make it the duty of such sub-treasury department to receive such agricultural products as are offered it for storage and make a careful examination of them and class them as to quality, and give a certificate of the deposit, showing the amount and quality and stating that United States legal tender paper money equal to eighty per cent. of the local current value of the products deposited has been advanced on same on interest at the rate of one per cent. per annum, on the condition that the owner or such other person as he

authorize will redeem the agricultural product twelve months from date of the certificate, or trustees will sell same at public auction to the highest bidder for the purpose of satisfying the debt. Besides the one per cent. interest the sub-treasurer would be allowed to charge a trifle for handling, storage, and a reasonable amount for insurance, the premises necessary for conducting this business would be secured by the various counties donated to the general government the land, and the government building the very best modern buildings, of and substantial. With this method in vogue the farmer, when his product was harvested, would store it in storage where it would be perfectly safe, and would secure four-fifths of its value to supply

however, insist that there are several precedents for it in history. They refer especially to the warehouse system of France. It seems that in 1848, in the troublous times of the Second Republic the government authorized warehouses to be opened for the reception of all kinds of produce, manufactured goods, etc., and made the certificate of such deposit negotiable by endorsement by the bank of France. This decree remained in force until 1858, when it was revised as to the bank of France and in some other minor particulars, but the main features were retained and are in full operation at the present day. At any time the same powerful influence could be brought to the aid of the nation that this warehousing system rendered in 1848. In the late war with Germany this system was of great value to the people of France in paying off their enormous war indemnity.

Reference is also made to the grain warehouses in Russia. In our own history mention is made to the tobacco warehouses in North Carolina and to the early financial measures in several of our colonies, but in most cases the money was advanced on land. However, in one instance in the early history of North Carolina something quite similar to the present plan was adopted. It seems that to relieve the stringency of the money market the Legislature established Government warehouses, and bonded inspectors were appointed to inspect certain farm products and naval stores intended for shipment. After inspection and

g, certificates were given of their deposit in the
use, and for certain of the commodities so
the inspector gave "his notes" according to a
valuation of the articles, which notes were legal-
for private and public dues. And thus the
were, to some extent, supplied with a local
y.

the alliance movement is now in a very flourish-
dition. Their numbers are rapidly increasing,
wishes are being carefully considered by all
and beyond any doubt the movement is des-
to exert a great influence on our industrial life.
g from a recent speech by President Polk, we
n up the situation as follows: This great or-

CHAPTER XXII.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

Introduction.—Modern Social Movements rapid.—Development of a new Political Party.—Causes leading to it.—The Cincinnati Convention.—Senator Peffer on its Objects and Hopes.—Its Conservative Work.—The Platform.—Conclusion.



WE are making history fast in these days. If we are not greatly mistaken influences from many sources are now uniting that will sweep all before them. The great body of the people are slow to move but they move with irresistible force when started. Especially is this true of our own country and of our own people. The world as a whole moves rapidly towards any given goal, much more rapidly in fact, than at any previous era in history. Owing to our perfect freedom of the press, the very great diffusion of intelligence, public opinion in this country rapidly crystalizes and exerts a wonderful power.

Now it would be passing strange if the organizations we have outlined in the last few chapters had not finally awakened to a perception of their own strength.

the years they have been organizing and discussing questions of interest. As time has passed they have gained in depth and broadness of view. Labor organizations and the great agricultural organizations have come to a clearer understanding of the difficulties confronting them, and have realized that their interests are the same. So it is not at all singular that they are drawing gradually together and find that they have much common ground on which they can stand. In short, here too, concentration and unity of interests is to be the watch-word of the future.

As a consequence we have but just witnessed (1891) the formation of a new political party. Considering its platform, let us make a few general

on "Results" we have seen that facts and theory here unite.

What shall the people do in such a state of affairs as this? To do nothing is simply to sink to a lower social depth than that of the village communities of old England who became serfs of their lords. To move too rashly, to rise wildly in their might is to set in motion more appalling forces than those forming the French Revolution. They have most wisely avoided both extremes. They have first organized, and have set about educating themselves. They have discussed questions of political economy, they have considered lines of action, and have carefully weighed the steps to be taken. But the formative time is now passed, the people must finally act. No reform can ever be carried out by simple resolutions and debates.

Accordingly there has just been held in the city of Cincinnati a most memorable convention, and the results of its labors has been the formation of the "People's Party." In many respects this was a wonderful convention. Fourteen hundred and seventeen delegates were gathered together, representing thirty-three of our states and territories, and some even came from the Dominion of Canada. The call was for all industrial organizations that supported the principles of the St. Louis agreement of December 1889. And accordingly there were representatives from all of the organizations whose principles we have now considered.

objects and hopes of the convention were frequently stated by Senator Peffer of Kansas and

ask why we are here? We come as harbingers of that we expect will bring healthful changes in our affairs; that will dethrone money and re-establish the sovereignty of the people. This movement is not one for destruction; it is one for creation. It is not for the purpose of tearing down, but for the purpose of building up. It is not to destroy the wealth of the rich, but to restore to labor its just reward. It may grate harshly upon some ears when they hear that this meeting, which is now being held in this beautiful city, is the most important that has been held in the United States since Congress met in July about twenty years ago. That was a meeting of men charged with

lies behind this majestic moving of the masses? Is this the work of men demented? If so, then indeed is half the world gone mad. Two hundred and seventy years have we been toiling in this country. We have conquered the wilderness, peopled the solitudes and civilized a continent. We have removed forests, opened highways, established commerce, and builded a nation that leads all the rest in agriculture and in manufactures, with half the railroad mileage of the world, and with an internal trade which, measured either in dollars or in tons, exceeds the foreign commerce of any half dozen countries. Yet, with all that we have done, with all the glorious records of these American workers, we find that to-day our profits are diminished; we find that our wants are multiplying and our profits divided. Our ancient prerogatives have been wrested from us. Our statesmen are drifting away from the people, and we find that the masses are gradually going in one direction, downward, while the classes are going in another direction, upward."

The convention representing as it did people from all sections of the country had a difficult task ahead of it in framing a platform. They wisely avoided going to extremes, but confined their attention principally to the questions of finance, land, and transportation. The platform adopted is as follows :

NAME.

1. In view of the great social, industrial and economical revolution now dawning upon the civilized world and the new and living issues confronting the American people, we believe that the time has now arrived for a crystallization of political reform forces of our country and the formation

should be known as the People's Party of the United States of America.

INDORSES PREVIOUS PLATFORMS.

We most heartily indorse the demands of platforms adopted at St. Louis, Mo., in 1889; Ocala, Fla., in 1890, and Omaha, Neb., in 1891, by the industrial organizations there named, summarized as follows:

DEMANDS.

The right to make and issue money is a sovereign right to be maintained by the people for the common benefit. We demand the abolition of National banks as banks of issue, and, as a substitute for National bank notes, we demand that full-tender Treasury notes be issued in sufficient volume to conduct the business of the country on a cash basis, without damage or especial advantage to any class or calling, and that they be legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private.

State, or municipal—shall not be used to build up one interest or class at the expense of another.

E—We demand that all revenues—National, State, or county—shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the Government, economically and honestly administered.

F—We demand a just and equitable system of graduated tax on income.

G—We demand the most rigid, honest and just National control and supervision of the means of public communication and transportation, and if this control and supervision does not remove the abuses now existing, we demand the Government ownership of such means of communication and transportation.

H—We demand the election of President, Vice-President and United States Senators by a direct vote of the people.

SUGGESTION AS TO NEXT CONVENTION.

3. We urge united action of all progressive organizations in attending the Conference called for February 22, 1892, by six of the leading reform associations.

4. That a National Central Committee be appointed by this Conference to be composed of a Chairman, to be elected by this body and of three members from each State represented, to be named by each State delegation.

5. That this Central Committee shall represent this body, attend the National Conference on February 22, 1892, and, if possible, unite with that and all other reform organizations there assembled. If no satisfactory arrangement can be effected this Committee shall call a National convention not later than June 1, 1892, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President.

6. That the members of the Central Committee for each

the labor and material to manufacture \$1,000,000 of the paper money. So, while the \$1,000 bill will fill a contract for \$1,000, a \$1,000,000 worth of gold or diamonds would not pay it if the creditor chose to refuse. Nor does the "promise to pay" add one iota of value to the bill. Let the stamp be reversed and just "one thousand dollars" be printed on the paper without any qualification and the gold be stamped "promise to pay," and their relative value as a circulating medium in this country would not be changed. But if the gold were stamped "receivable for all debts except taxes," the paper would soon be considered worth the metal.

The fact is, what the government labels as money it is bound to receive as money, and what will pay the government will pay any subject of the government, unless otherwise prescribed by law.

But money, when manufactured by the government, is of no use to the people except it be put into circulation.

There are two ways in which this might be accomplished, either of which would be far better than the present system. The one, to estimate how much per capita would be necessary to furnish a sufficient supply for the business of the people, and then to issue that amount of currency and apply it to the expenses of the government in the meantime remitting government taxes and duties in a corresponding amount.

The other, to issue such an amount as will be just enough for the best interests of the people and loaning to them on good security, without interest, such money as they need in their industries, limited in amount to any one individual.

The advocates of the first plan seem to overlook the fact that no adequate amount could thus be put in circulation without making a complete change in our revenue system necessary, to be followed in a short time by a recurrence to the same old method; or adopting yet another untried method of supporting the expenses of the government.

The method of loaning to the working people without interest I think the most feasible and least objectionable. If money was thus furnished by the government on a term of few years to individuals, but perpetual to the people and absolutely

by charter to provide and take them into its own hands for its people which failed to render. How I shall expect to hear about the close of this session. It is not consistent with an institution so necessary and managed in such a manner to rob or destroy the government itself. A premium these companies with foreign insurance, might easily be the mercy of its enemies. tion which leads them to rob or destroy the government itself. A premium these companies with foreign insurance, might easily be the mercy of its enemies.

Land reform is attended as any question with which to preserve the rights of the government, and the tillers of the soil, may well encephala. It seems to me the government to recognize to the soil of those who till and that this result should least injurious and most

Ballot reform may be a

Whose shall vote? In regard to the first, I think whether the ignorant and exists in a greater or less shall be allowed not only votes of others, while in our land are deprived of a which effects their interest as that of men. And rant of our language, and p straits of law and order, vote after a residence of 1 ment of a paltry sum for b is furnished by some scheme the oath, the obligation recognize; while our own of age are better qualified and sound judgment in wait five years before the

It should be observed that this platform is to some extent a compromise. It however serves a temporary purpose and will lead to a further discussion of important questions. In some respects it may and probably will be changed in the future. It endorses the Sub-Treasury plan. This will doubtless be one of the principal points of discussion in the future, and it may be deemed advisable to change the platform in that respect.

It is easy of course to criticise, to point out defects, to ridicule the whole movement. On the one hand there are many who ask for something far more radical than this. But the leaders of the movement decline at present to consider the radical innovations contained in all schemes of Socialism, Nationalism, or the Single Tax theories. They are in earnest. They include in their ranks people from all sections of our country. They see very clearly the dangers ahead, they are not anarchists but desire in some way to curb the power of capital. This much is at least true: the problems they are trying to solve will have to be solved some way. To fail to do this is to despair of our present civilization.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

National Farmers' Alliance,

AT ITS

ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

MORNING SESSION.

The annual meeting of the National Alliance convened at 10 o'clock on Thursday, January 1st, at the Hotel J. H. Powers called to order, and Secretary J. H. Powers called to the desk. Invocation by Rev. J. H. Groat.

On motion that the business of the convention be

President appointed the

business of the session opened with the address of President Powers.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

BROTHERS OF THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE: The industries of a country may be considered in two departments. Those that consist principally of manual labor or that occupation which may be successfully followed with but little systematic thought, and those which depend for success chiefly on systematic and continued mental training. It is true that the best and noblest type of manhood and womanhood consists in a judicious combination of these qualities. And the mental giant who towers above his fellows by his strength of mind, his clearness of logic or flights of genius, if he does not turn these qualities to some profit,

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

with evil, does not render those engaged in them necessarily worse than other men, nor remove them from claims to our consideration. But it does and should render them ineligible to membership in distinctively labor organizations. The man who earns enough bread for himself and family by the sweat of his brow, and in addition earns the big profits of the successful merchant, the usurious interest for the prosperous banker, the exorbitant rates for the railroad company and the surplus of taxes to be squandered by the corrupt office-holder and politician, has some interests that are not shared by any of these recipients of his earnings, and which can only be sustained by such combination of strength as can only be obtained by systematic organizations of those whose interests are identical.

It would naturally follow from these considerations that each separate branch of industry should have its separate organization. The blacksmith has peculiar interests in relation to raw material, tools, etc., which are different from the carpenter, and both of these from the shoemaker, and so with all the different trades and occupations. And all others differ from the farmer in this, that while people may for a time go barefooted or without shelter, the products of the farm are absolutely necessary every day, and all the time, for the very existence of every member of a civilized community.

But while trades unions and Knights of Labor assemblies are necessary in the cities, and the Farmers' Alliance and other kindred organizations are necessary in the country, there are interests which are common to all these, and for which some general organization is necessary.

The question of business co-operation on a scale of national magnitude is a very important one, and to be made productive of lasting benefit will require such careful consideration and such close and practical study as I have been unable to give to the subject. I would only suggest that until such an arrangement of the industries and business of the country is made, while the productions of the labor of every individual will add something to general comfort and prosperity, there will be room for improvement in that direction.

But it is in relation of those organizations to government that the greatest necessity for co-operation exists. No effective arrangements of a national character for the conduct of the business industries of the country can be made, and prove of benefit, without being in effect laws of the organizations which adopt them. And so to prevent general and continual conflict with the laws of the government itself, must be controlled by these societies.

How this can be accomplished, I think, is the most important question which should be considered at this session of our Alliance.

Two general plans at once present themselves to my mind for attaining this object. The first, that which has the sanction of the political history of our country and the prejudice arising from our own political education, a new political party. The other, independent political action, which has been partially, but surprisingly, successful in a number of the states during the past years.

To the first proposition I am decidedly opposed, for the following reasons, viz: First, such a political party is not practical for industrial organizations. Such societies aim at reforms. And, although a party of them might, and would at the first, be formed on such principles as at that time were advocated by all, no such platform could be adopted unless on such vague presentation of principles as would be of little practical benefit as an assurance of wholesome political action, that would not in many parts soon become obsolete and of no effect.

Witness, the two parties which have divided the government during the last thirty years. Each of them was formed on principles which were definite and practical at the time, but long ago they have been lost sight of, and instead of the center-

tion between them being on principle, it is a strife as to which can the most successful apply all the deception and corruption attending modern politics to gain the spoils of office and the management of the public treasury.

It is not possible to confine a political party to any one class or condition in society. From motives of principle or policy men of all classes would vote with the new industrial party, for it would be large and powerful enough to be sought after as the possible winning side. You could not reject the vote of a man because he does not belong to your society. The result would be, your new party would embrace bankers, lawyers, professional politicians, men who are not interested in you or your society, except in so far as your political triumph may give them a power and influence over you, and then, having a foothold in your party, they would soon gain the ascendancy, the same as they now possess in the old parties, and you would realize you only had the old party machine under a new name. In fact, the essential underlying principle of a political party is, that those who vote for you may be your political masters and compel you to vote as they dictate, or punish you with political ostracism and the party lash.

I believe in pledges. I believe men ought to be willing to pledge themselves to each other to vote for good men or good measures, but not vote for men or measures because a majority of any party or class of men may demand it.

But the important question is: How may political independence be successful?

I answer: Every new party is formed by independent political action, and all that is necessary for its success is that its principles should be held by a majority of the voters of the country or locality, and that they be enabled to nominate and concentrate their votes on such men as are true to those principles.

Now, as success has been achieved in this way in several instances, and that without the aid of any definite plan, but arising, as it were, on the spur of the moment, it does seem reasonable that by following out a definite, plain system for such action every year, that success would be the rule and not the exception.

What is the reason that in every great question of reform, or every measure for the public good which may be suggested and brought forward, it is difficult to get people to vote together? It is because they are arrayed against each other in existing political parties and those parties will not sanction such combination to sustain the principle as would be effective, but insist that their members must be arrayed against each other on partisan lines.

Surely some better way to reduce righteous principles into legal enactments must be devised.

Permit me to suggest a plan for your consideration. Let this Alliance discuss and agree upon such measures as it shall deem expedient to form a basis for political action for this year and next. Place this by correspondence before the other great industrial organizations, and with their concurrence let a convention be called at some central point for the purpose of comparing views and finally adopting as a national platform a concise set of principles which can be cordially supported by all. Then publish them to the world and let the remainder of the year be spent in disseminating these principles and preparing for the great struggle in 1902.

The subjects on which these principles are founded should be those which are most vital to the prosperity of the people, the honest laborers of the whole country, and which can be so impressed upon the majority of the people that they can be adopted and carried out.

I think they may be all included in the following list: Money reform, land reform, transportation reform, ballot reform, and the suppression of any vice that is tolerated by law to the peril of our national prosperity.

Time will not permit me to give any more than



the paper money. So, while the \$1,000 bill will fill a contract for \$1,000, a \$1,000,000 worth of gold or diamonds would not pay it if the creditor chose to refuse. Nor does the "promise to pay" add one iota of value to the bill. Let the stamp be reversed and just "one thousand dollars" be printed on the paper without any qualification and the gold be stamped "promise to pay," and their relative value as a circulating medium in this country would not be changed. But if the gold were stamped "receivable for all debts except taxes," the paper would soon be considered worth the metal.

The fact is, what the government labels as money it is bound to receive as money, and what will pay the government will pay any subject of the government, unless otherwise prescribed by law.

But money, when manufactured by the government, is of no use to the people except it be put into circulation.

There are two ways in which this might be accomplished, either of which would be far better than the present system. The one, to estimate how much per capita would be necessary to furnish a sufficient supply for the business of the people, and then to issue that amount of currency and apply it to the expenses of the government in the meantime remitting government taxes and duties in a corresponding amount.

The other, to issue such an amount as will be just enough for the best interests of the people and loaning to them on good security, without interest, such money as they need in their industries, limited in amount to any one individual.

The advocates of the first plan seem to overlook the fact that no adequate amount could thus be put in circulation without making a complete change in our revenue system necessary, to be followed in a short time by a recurrence to the same old method; or adopting yet another untried method of supporting the expenses of the government.

The method of loaning to the working people without interest I think the most feasible and least objectionable. If money was thus furnished by the government on a term of few years to individuals, but perpetual to the people and absolutely without interest, the hoarding of money would be stopped, except in the case of a few misers, and

by charter to take them into service for its profit. I shall endeavor to close here the close. It is not common institution and managed by government in these companies. Insurrection, the mercy of the nation which less them to rob or seized it would.

Land reform as any question to preserve the of the government tillers of the atmosphere. It is the government to the soil of the and that this is least injurious able.

Ballot reform.

Who is In regard to whether the right exists in a great shall be allow votes of other our land are which effects agree as that of rant of our land straits of law vote after a moment of a pain is furnished by ing the oath, if recognize; whi of ago are bett and sound jud wait five years same or affirma

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE.

information provided for, so that we may know plans and actions of all parts of our movement. If the secret work has the advantage of efficiency and permanency, ought it not be so? And if that is concluded on, should not be, in addition to the peculiar work of a few each state, a general mystic bond by brethren from all parts of our country should be organized and welcomed by each other?

Is there not to be some prescribed active work of our officers to perform? Are we not by lack of system and our indefinite, loose organization as a national society, laying ourselves liable absorbed by other more compact organizations, although having the same general object in view, would not be congenial to our brother-

I ask your earnest consideration of these things, and trust that you will leave nothing untried which seems necessary to the efficient and successful execution of the great work we are at-

tempting. It is no time for boys' school demonstrations. There was a time corporations and oligarchies looked upon us with contempt. That condition is changed. Three million voters cannot be drawn into an army without attracting general notice, even though their discipline may be imperfect and their lines disconnected. The enemy is marshalled for the battle. We must win or suffer ignominious defeat.

Is it not to be decided. This people must be redeemed, we are unworthy of the trust we have under God will raise up other instruments to accomplish His will, for He has purposed great things for this nation and will accomplish them. How shall we answer for our lost opportunity? What will our children think of us? How is answer on that day when nations and so are yet on trial as well as individuals? Is acquit ourselves like true men; let us encourage each other; let us close up the lines; let us up the banner of freedom on high; let us march down along the ranks, "The People, in Our Native Land." Let us shout the cry, "United We Conquer," and our foes scattered. Light will break forth as the sun. Liberty will triumph. Our country will be saved.

Resolved the address of the President given to the Press Committee to be to the press.

Resolution from Crown Alliance No. 1 of Iowa, requesting the National Alliance to adopt an official pin was presented and referred to a committee consisting of J. M. Devine, G. D. Fullerton, Wright.

Following were appointed a commission on resolutions: G. T. Ashby, H. Cat, F. E. Fitch, Milton George, C. Pitt.

National Lecturer made a verbal report, after which Secretary Post made following report:

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

President and Members of the National Farmers' Alliance:—The year that has elapsed since the annual meeting has been marked by a very remarkable advance of Alliance ideas, by much actual progress in Alliance work and by a rapid growth in the constituent bodies organized under the auspices of this National Alliance organization is commending itself, in a degree than ever before, to thoughtful everywhere, and as its principles, methods become better understood, it is ground in the respect, the esteem and the sympathy of the far larger portion of the people who are fair-minded, and who desire to

do right and act justly. If it be still viewed with suspicion by some of this class, it is a matter which time will set right, as they, upon fuller information, become convinced that in laboring for the amelioration of our own social and economic condition, and the more accurate definition and better enforcement of our rights, we are nevertheless guided by a due regard for the legitimate rights of all other citizens. The good opinion of those who do not fall within this category we cannot expect and do not care to conciliate. Those who profit by the abuses under which we suffer, and whom we, through an exclusive conservatism, are wedded to these abuses because they have always been accustomed to them, will now and always be numbered among our opponents.

GROWTH AND EXTENSION.

As auxiliary to this National body thirteen state Alliances are now organized. Since our last meeting four new state Alliances have been established; namely, in Indiana, in June last; in Missouri, in August, and in Pennsylvania and New York during the present month. The newly organized Alliances are in a prosperous condition, and are moving harmoniously along Alliance lines, and are rapidly organizing the territory subject to their jurisdiction. Three other states are preparing to organize and it is expected that they will shortly be in readiness. A considerable number of charters for subordinate Alliances have been granted during the year, pursuant to Section 1, Article IX of the constitution, in states where state Alliances do not yet exist. The prospects are that in three states sufficient ground will soon be made to warrant state organization in them.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF PRINTED MATTER.

During the past year the demand for printed matter setting forth the principles, purposes and methods of the National Alliance, has been very great. This demand has been supplied, in part, and to the extent of the resources available for the purpose, by the National Alliance, in the distribution of fifty thousand copies of the constitution and proceedings, and in part by the distribution of many thousand copies of the constitutions and proceedings of the several state Alliances. In a number of instances several successive editions of as many as twenty to fifty thousand each have been necessary to meet the demand, and in some it was found necessary to translate state constitutions into German, Swedish and Danish, and print one or more editions to respond to the great and growing inquiry from farmers speaking those languages. The distribution of these publications has been conducted with care. They have not been lavishly scattered, but the aim has been to refuse no reasonable request for them when to grant it seemed likely to promote the interests and growth of the Alliance. It is recommended that in the formation of plans for the work of the ensuing year, the subject of providing sufficient printed matter of this character to enable the secretary to respond to calls for it, receive the consideration to which its importance entitles it.

ALLIANCE WORK.

Our constitution expressly proposes as its aim, the social, financial and political advancement of the farmer. It is gratifying to note that in nearly all of our state jurisdictions the importance of the social feature of our institution is obtaining larger recognition than was formerly the case. A great obstacle to harmonious action by farmers as a class, lies in the fact that their isolation on the farm puts them out of touch with each other, gives them few opportunities for informal, man-to-man discussion of questions of common interest, and interferes with the growth of that mutual confidence which is essential to united action. The importance therefore, of frequent social meetings, in order that this obstacle may be minimized, is very great. They should be encouraged, urged and insisted on.

EDUCATION.

These meetings, besides promoting acquaintance, confidence and reliance upon one another, have large educational value. They can hardly occur without discussion of the farmers' situation and the problems that confront him. Interchange and comparison of views and ideas lead to harmonious and correct thinking. Fuller study of the ques-



...manufacture \$1,000,000 of money. So, while the \$1,000 bill will fill a contract for \$1,000, a \$1,000,000 worth of gold or diamonds would not pay it if the creditor chose to refuse. Nor does the "promise to pay" add one iota of value to the bill. Let the stamp be reversed and just "one thousand dollars" be printed on the paper without any qualification and the gold be stamped "promise to pay," and their relative value as a circulating medium in this country would not be changed. But if the gold were stamped "receivable for all debts except taxes," the paper would soon be considered worth the same.

The fact is, what the government labels as money it is bound to receive as money, and what will pay the government will pay any subject of the government, unless otherwise prescribed by law.

But money, when manufactured by the government, is of no use to the people except it be put into circulation.

There are two ways in which this might be accomplished, either of which would be far better than the present system. The one, to estimate how much per capita would be necessary to furnish a sufficient supply for the business of the people, and then to issue that amount of currency and apply it to the expenses of the government in the meantime remitting government taxes and duties to a corresponding amount.

The other, to issue such an amount as will be just enough for the best interests of the people and loaning to them on good security, without interest, such money as they need in their industries, limited in amount to any one individual.

The advocates of the first plan seem to overlook the fact that no adequate amount could thus be put in circulation without making a complete change in our revenue system necessary, to be followed in a short time by a recurrence to the same old method, or adopting yet another untried method of supporting the expenses of the government.

The method of loaning to the working people without interest I think the most feasible and least objectionable. If money was thus furnished by the government on a term of few years to individuals, but perpetual to the people and absolutely without interest, the hoarding of money would be stopped, except in the case of a few — all the money in the country

giving to it by charter take them in vice for its failed to re about I shal fore the clie it is not con an instituti and manage poverish th government these comp insurrection the mercy tion which them to reb solved it w

Land refic as any quest to preserve of the gover tillers of th enosphere. the governa to the soil e and that thi least injuri able.

Ballot ref them. Whi

In regard whether the exists in a s shall be all votes of o our land ar which effec groe as that rant of our i straits of l vote after a ment of a p is furnished ing the entt recognia; of age are b and bound

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

site information provided for, so that we may know the feelings, plans and actions of all parts of our brotherhood. If the secret work has the advantages of efficiency and permanency, ought it not be adopted? And if that is concluded on, should there not be, in addition to the peculiar work or system for each state, a general mystic bond by which brethren from all parts of our country should be recognized and welcomed by each other?

Should there not be some prescribed active work for each of our officers to perform? Are we not by our lack of system and our indefinite, loose organization as a national society, laying ourselves liable to be absorbed by other more compact organizations, which, although having the same general objects in view, would not be congenial to our brotherhood? I ask your earnest consideration of these matters, and trust that you will leave nothing undone which seems necessary to the efficient and successful execution of the great work we are attempting.

Let us not be deceived. It is no time for boys' play and mock demonstrations. There was a time when corporations and oligarchies looked upon us with unflinching contempt. That condition is changed. Three million voters cannot be drawn up in line in an army without attracting general attention, even though their discipline may be imperfect and their lines disconnected. The enemy is already marshalled for the battle. We must conquer or suffer ignominious defeat.

Be not deceived. This people must be redeemed. If we prove unworthy of the trust we have undertaken, God will raise up other instruments to accomplish His will, for He has purposed great things for this nation and will accomplish them. But we, how shall we answer for our lost opportunities? What will our children think of us? How shall we answer on that day when nations and societies are yet on trial as well as individuals?

Let us accult ourselves like true men; let us encourage each other; let us close up the lines; let us lift up the banner of freedom on high; let us pass the word down along the ranks, "The People, God and Our Native Land." Let us about the battle cry, "United We Conquer," and our foes will be scattered. Light will break forth as the morning. Liberty will triumph. Our country will be redeemed.

On motion the address of the President was given to the Press Committee to be given to the press.

Resolution from Crown Alliance No. 1428, of Iowa, requesting the National Alliance to adopt an official pin was presented and referred to a committee consisting of J. M. Devine, G. D. Fullerton, A. R. Wright.

The following were appointed a committee on resolutions: G. T. Ashby, N. P. Groat, F. E. Fitch, Milton George, C. M. Butt.

The National Lecturer made a verbal report, after which Secretary Post made the following report:

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

To the President and Members of the National Farmers' Alliance:—The year that has elapsed since our last annual meeting has been marked by a very considerable advance of Alliance lines, by much substantial progress in Alliance work and by a gratifying growth in the constituent bodies organized under the auspices of this National assembly. The organization is commanding itself, in a greater degree than ever before, to thoughtful farmers everywhere, and as its principles, purposes and methods become better understood, it is gaining ground in the respect, the esteem and the sympathy of that by far larger portion of the general public who are fair-minded, and who desire to

do right and act justly. If it be still viewed with suspicion by some of this class, it is a matter which time will set right, as they, upon fuller information, become convinced that in laboring for the amelioration of our own social and economic condition, and the more accurate definition and better enforcement of our rights, we are nevertheless guided by a due regard for the legitimate rights of all other citizens. The good opinion of those who do not fall within this category we cannot expect and do not care to reconcile. Those who profit by the abuses under which we suffer, and those who, through an exclusive conservatism, are wedded to those abuses because they have always been accustomed to them, will now and always be numbered among our opponents.

GROWTH AND EXTENSION.

As auxiliary to this National body thirteen state Alliances are now organized. Since our last meeting four new state Alliances have been established; namely, in Indiana, in June last; in Missouri, in August, and in Pennsylvania and New York during the present month. The newly organized Alliances are in a prosperous condition, and are moving harmoniously along Alliance lines, and are rapidly organizing the territory subject to their jurisdiction. Three other states are preparing to organize and it is expected that they will shortly be in readiness. A considerable number of charters for subordinate Alliances have been granted during the year, pursuant to Section I, Article IX of the constitution, in states where state Alliances do not yet exist. The prospects are that in three states sufficient growth will soon be made to warrant state organization in them.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF PRINTED MATTER.

During the past year the demand for printed matter setting forth the principles, purposes and methods of the National Alliance, has been very great. This demand has been supplied, in part, and to the extent of its resources available for the purpose, by the National Alliance. In the distribution of fifty thousand copies of the constitution and prospectus, and in part by the distribution of many thousand copies of the constitutions and prospectuses of the several state Alliances. In a number of instances several successive editions of twenty to fifty thousand each have been necessary to meet the demand, and in some it was found necessary to translate state constitutions into German, Swedish and Danish, and print one or more editions to respond to the great and growing inquiry from farmers speaking those languages. The distribution of these publications has been conducted with care. They have not been lavishly scattered, but the aim has been to refuse no reasonable request for them when to grant it seemed likely to promote the interests and growth of the Alliance. It is recommended that in the formation of plans for the work of the ensuing year, the subject of providing sufficient printed matter of this character to enable the secretary to respond to calls for it, receive the consideration to which its importance entitles it.

ALLIANCE WORK.

Our constitution expressly proposes as its aim, the social, financial and political advancement of the farmer. It is gratifying to note that in nearly all of our state jurisdictions the importance of the social feature of our institution is obtaining larger recognition than was formerly the case. A great obstacle to harmonious action by farmers as a class, lies in the fact that their isolation on the farm puts them out of touch with each other, gives them few opportunities for informal, man-to-man discussion of questions of common interest, and interferes with the growth of that mutual confidence which is essential to united action. The importance, therefore, of frequent social meetings, is order that this obstacle may be minimized, is very great. They should be encouraged, urged and insisted on.

EDUCATION.

These meetings, besides promoting acquaintance, confidence and reliance upon one another, have large educational value. They can hardly occur without discussion of the farmers' situation and the problems that confront him. Interchange and comparison of views and ideas lead to harmonious and correct thinking. Fuller study of the ques-

Generally been a considerable growth in the volume of the business transacted, which is some evidence that it meets a want and is growing in favor. Where it is pursued it is found to possess a value much beyond the savings effected on the purchases made under the system in this, that it tends to hold the members together, and also that it affects general prices and influences local merchants and dealers to be content with more moderate profits than formerly. It thus operates to the benefit of all consumers, whether in or out of the Alliance.

LEGISLATIVE REFORM WORK.

During the past year the influence of the National Alliance and of nearly all the state bodies has been exerted in behalf of a number of measures pending in congress for the repression of evils inimically affecting the agricultural interests. Prominent among these are the measures known as the "option bill" and the "lard bill," the former to prevent board of trade gambling in farm products, and the latter to regulate the sale of counterfeit lard as to prevent its fraudulent sale as lard, by compelling makers and vendors of the compound to brand them in such a manner as will give notice to consumers of their true character. The "option bill" is now on the house calendar, and if it can secure a hearing will undoubtedly pass that body. The "lard bill" has passed the house and is now pending in the Senate. Both measures are obviously just, and the injury inflicted upon the producing classes by the evils against which they are directed is susceptible of no complete demonstration that there ought to be no doubt about their enactment into law. As we have now strength enough in congress to insure their passage if they can be brought to a vote, and our immediate efforts should be concentrated upon the task of securing consideration for them.

The position of the National Alliance on the subject of interstate commerce is well known. It supposes any relaxation in the provisions of the existing law and favors amendment in the direction of more efficient railway control. The Alliance should be on guard with reference to a steady and persistent effort now being made to secure an amendment which will permit pooling. Those moving in this direction seem to be only awaiting the favorable opportunity which dormant public opinion may afford in order to press such a modification of the law. Pooling is the

justice
assist
of our
efficient
legislative
here, to
brothers
In sev
tion has
the ex
been ob
sary to
which par
of good
paration has
the farmer
all the ehi
tional pres
our duty
ble and t
ance, thro
used, be no
even the p
school. W
a question
friends who
them up and
are the pec
them, what
shall be used
class and o
many local
schools by
control of the
and of the
should carefu
that take this
tain the right
play our own
books. With
number of pla
in different sta
situation, I beli
text books by
tween the distri
ing to the pupil
and contracting
the county as a
most satisfact
which within my
at fifty per cent.
same time retain
bands of school

mal is practically helpless. Accordingly we find the majority of great interest in most of the states, while progress in each ranging all the way from zero to good. The greatest advance has probably been made in Iowa where an elective railway commission with power to fix rates on lines within the state and joint rates on connecting lines has been secured. The commission also has power to decide controversies arising between the roads and individuals or communities, and its decision is binding unless appeal is taken to the courts, and when appealed from, the burden of showing that it is wrong rest upon the road. Power is given to prevent all discriminations of whatsoever kind or nature, all pooling and all excessive charges, and, the commission being responsible directly to the people who elect it, the power is exercised. A shipper injured by any of the common railway abuses, if he must go into the court for final redress, goes in with a *prima facie* case in his favor, and not as formerly, with all the presumptions and burdens of proof against him. This gives the individual something like a fair chance for justice when opposed by corporate wealth and power. I venture to commend the Iowa system to the attention and study of our brethren in other states who are wrestling with the all-important questions of transportation and fair treatment in securing it. Many things remain to be done in the way of legislation before full justice is obtained for the farmer. Many abuses have yet to be corrected and many wrongs are yet to be righted. But in looking over the whole field I am encouraged to believe that the National Farmers' Alliance has devised methods applicable to them whereby, with careful study, patient labor and firm adherence to demands that are felt to be just, the wrongs may be righted, the abuses corrected and justice secured.

On motion, report was adopted and ordered published.

The report of the treasurer followed, and on motion was referred to an auditing committee consisting of Allen Root, J. B. Furrow and J. M. Mason.

The convention was then addressed by ex-president J. Burrows, of Lincoln, Nebraska.

On motion, a committee from each state was appointed, and termed a "Unit Committee," for the purpose of devising and formulating a plan for carrying out the plan outlined by Mr. Burrows in his address. The following are the committee: E. S. Purrott, Wm. Kinerk, A. E. Brunson, A. T. Carter, W. E. Bell, N. B. Ashby, O. W. Haugh, Allen Root, D. F. Ravens, Charles Morgan, W. R. Laughlin.

The following were, on motion, appointed a committee on secret work: A. J. Westfall, J. M. Thompson, Joshua Crawford.

A communication from a delegation representing the General Assembly of the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association was presented as follows:

OMAHA, NEBRASKA, JANUARY 27, 1891.—J. H. POWERS, President National Alliance.—*Dear Sir and Brother:*—The undersigned committee, appointed by the General Assembly of the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, at its recent session in Springfield, Illinois, to attend your National meeting and to confer with a like committee of the National Alliance on the subject of a closer union of our organization, are in the city and await your pleasure. (Signed,) W. T. Stillwell, T. W. Haynes, F. J. Claypool, John P. Stelle, James Jennings.

On motion, fraternal greetings were

extended to the brethren representing the F. M. B. A. delegation and they were invited to seats in the convention.

On motion, Ben Torrell, representing F. A. & I. U., was also invited to a seat in the convention.

On motion, the visiting brethren were invited to address the convention at tomorrow's session.

Adjourned until 7:30 P. M.

EVENING SESSION.

President Powers in the chair. The evening session was introduced by the following address, delivered by Mr. D. H. Talbot, of Sioux City, Iowa.

ADDRESS OF MR. D. H. TALBOT.

MR. PRESIDENT AND DELEGATES OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE. *Ladies and Gentlemen:*—Permit me to address you as brothers and sisters in our commercial and social organization, offering a few business suggestions.

At a recent meeting of our Iowa State Farmers' Alliance Executive Committee it was agreed that each member of our Executive Committee should write a paper upon some general plan, topic or work thought best for the interests of the Alliance. And in carrying out this plan it has fallen to my lot to consider that part which will apply more forcibly towards the educating of the people, i. e., the presenting of such thought as may assist in causing moderate discussion, debate—in bringing the members of our Alliance to a better understanding of the grave position which the farmers now occupy. This paper I take pleasure in submitting to you for your consideration.

For me to outline this subject fully would require too much space in a paper of this kind, therefore it must be cared for in a rather hurried manner, trusting that in the main it may prove of some benefit in eliciting the ideas or thoughts of those who, though knowing the wrongs under which they live have not the courage to openly express themselves and in a proper, business-like manner demand and secure correction of their wrongs.

To properly understand just what our position is we must first consider that effect always follows a cause. Our present condition is ample evidence of the effect, and to change it we must study well the cause, which taken as a whole has brought us to be known as an Alliance. First of all, it is a well known rule in business, or other warfare that there is no hope for success between contending forces, regardless of the arms, or other goods used in competition, unless the intelligence of the minds engineering the contending forces are carefully weighed. To profit by our enemies' methods, we find that every other class interest in the world has made its union, and either by fact or inference have accepted these words to signify their line of defense: Unite, agitate, educate, federate, and with the spiritual halo, exemplified in the words Business Secrecy, we have for our example the most wonderful, and better still, successful hollow square for defense, the world has ever known.

And further, these emblems of power even between contending forces bring much more equitable fruits to the many who are thus organized, than is possible with us at present, and simply because of the power of compromise. As we now stand our strength is limited, but let us follow in the footsteps of our enemy and because of our numbers and natural resources of mind and body, we will have such strength that in the form of compromise at least, we can demand and secure just what we may ask for.

To begin, we must unite. "Yes," everybody

and importance while in others it is largely neg-
ative. Where it is carried on at all, there has
generally been a considerable growth in the volume
of the business transaction, which is some evidence
that it meets a want and is growing in favor.
Where it is pursued it is found to possess a value
much beyond the savings effected on the purchases
made under the system in this, that it tends to hold
the members together, and also that it affects gen-
eral prices and influences local merchants and
dealers to be content with more moderate profits
than formerly. It thus operates to the benefit of
all consumers, whether in or out of the Alliance.

LEGISLATIVE REFORM WORK

During the past year the influence of the Nation-
al Alliance and of nearly all the state bodies has
been exerted in behalf of a number of measures
pending in Congress for the repression of evils in-
ferminly affecting the agricultural interests.
Prominent among these are the measures known
as the "option bill" and the "lard bill," the former
to prevent frauds in the sale of farm products
by the devices known as "options" and "fu-
ture contracts," and the latter to regulate the sale of
lard, by compelling makers and vendors of the
compound to brand them in such a manner as will
give notice to consumers of their true character.
The "option bill" is now on the House calendar,
and if it can secure a hearing will undoubtedly
pass that body. The "lard bill" has passed the
House and is now pending in the Senate. Both
measures are obviously just, and the injury in-
flicted upon the producing classes by the evils
against which they are directed is susceptible of
such complete demonstration that there ought to
be no doubt about their enactment into law. Ac-
cording to the best information I can obtain, both
have now strength enough in Congress to insure
their passage if they can be brought to a vote, and
our immediate efforts should be concentrated upon
the task of securing consideration for them.
The position of the National Alliance on the sub-
ject of inter-state commerce is well known. It
opposes any relaxation in the provisions of the ex-
isting law and favors amendment in the direction
of more efficient railway control. The Alliance
should be on guard with reference to a steady and
persistent effort now being made to secure an
amendment which will permit pooling. These mov-
ing in this direction seem to be only awaiting the
favorable opportunity, which doubtless will occur
in the near future.

Justice I
assistance
of our J
efficient
legislative
licers, too
brothers
In reve
tion has t
the exo
been obl
sary to
which par
of good s
paration f
the farm
all the edu
tional pro
our duty
ble and u
ance, thro
need, be n
even the
school. W
a question
friends who
them up an
are the pe
them, what
shall be ne
etane and
many local
schools by
control of th
and of the
should care
that take th
tain the rig
ploy our o
books. With
number of p
in different
situation, I
text books
between the
ing to the
and contract
the county
most satisf
which with
at fifty per
same time

and is practically helpless. Accordingly we find the subject one of great interest in most of the states, this process in each raging all the way from zero to good. The greatest advance has probably been made in Iowa where an elective railway commission with power to fix rates on lines within the state and joint rates on connecting lines has been secured. The commission also has power to decide controversies arising between the roads and individuals or communities, and its decision is binding unless appeal is taken to the courts, and when appealed from, the burden of showing that it is wrong rests upon the road. Power is given to prevent all discriminations of whatsoever kind or nature, all exorbitant and all excessive charges, and, the commission being responsible directly to the people who elect it, the power is exercised. A shipper injured by any of the common railway abuses, if he must go into the court for final redress, goes in with a *prima facie* case in his favor, and not as formerly, with all the presumptions and burdens of proof against him. This gives the individual something like a fair chance for justice when opposed by corporate wealth and power. I venture to commend the Iowa system to the attention and study of our brethren in other states who are wrestling with the all-important questions of transportation and fair treatment in securing it. Many things remain to be done in the way of legislation before full justice is obtained for the farmer. Many abuses have yet to be corrected and many wrongs are yet to be righted. But in looking over the whole field I am encouraged to believe that the National Farmers' Alliance has devised methods applicable to them, thereby, with careful study, patient labor and firm adherence to demands that are felt to be just, the wrongs may be righted, the abuses corrected and justice secured.

On motion, report was adopted and ordered published.

The report of the treasurer followed, and on motion was referred to an auditing committee consisting of Allen Root, B. Furrow and J. M. Mason.

The convention was then addressed by ex-president J. Burrows, of Lincoln, Nebraska.

On motion, a committee from each state was appointed, and termed a "Unit Committee," for the purpose of devising and formulating a plan for carrying out the plan outlined by Mr. Burrows in his address. The following are the committee: E. S. Parrott, Wm. Kinerk, A. E. Ironson, A. T. Carter, W. E. Bell, N. B. Lobbey, G. W. Haigh, Allen Root, D. F. Lavens, Charles Morgan, W. R. Laughlin.

The following were, on motion, appointed a committee on secret work: L. J. Westfall, J. M. Thompson, Joshua Crawford.

A communication from a delegation representing the General Assembly of the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association was presented as follows:

OMAHA, NEBRASKA, January 27, 1891.—J. H. Owens, President National Alliance.—*Dear Sir and Brethren:*—The undersigned committee, appointed by the General Assembly of the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, at its recent session in Springfield, Illinois, to attend your national meeting and to confer with a like committee of the National Alliance on the subject of a closer union of our organization, are in the city, and await your pleasure. (Signed,) F. T. Sullivan, T. W. Hayden, F. J. Claypool, and P. Steele, James Jennings.

On motion, fraternal greetings were

extended to the brethren representing the F. M. B. A. delegation and they were invited to seats in the convention.

On motion, Ben Torrell, representing F. A. & I. U., was also invited to a seat in the convention.

On motion, the visiting brethren were invited to address the convention at tomorrow's session.

Adjourned until 7:30 P. M.

EVENING SESSION.

President Powers in the chair. The evening session was introduced by the following address, delivered by Mr. D. H. Talbot, of Sioux City, Iowa.

ADDRESS OF MR. D. H. TALBOT.

MR. PRESIDENT AND DELEGATES OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE. *Ladies and Gentlemen:*—Permit me to address you as brothers and sisters in our commercial and social organization, offering a few business suggestions.

At a recent meeting of our Iowa State Farmers' Alliance Executive Committee it was agreed that each member of our Executive Committee should write a paper upon some general plan, topic or work thought best for the interests of the Alliance. And in carrying out this plan it has fallen to my lot to consider that part which will apply more forcibly towards the educating of the people, i. e., the presenting of such thought as may assist in causing moderate discussion, debate—in bringing the members of our Alliance to a better understanding of the grave position which the farmers now occupy. This paper I take pleasure in submitting to you for your consideration.

For me to outline this subject fully would require too much space in a paper of this kind, therefore it must be cared for in a rather hurried manner, trusting that in the main it may prove of some benefit in eliciting the ideas or thoughts of those who, though knowing the wrongs under which they live have not the courage to openly express themselves and in a proper, business-like manner demand and secure correction of their wrongs.

To properly understand just what our position is we must first consider that effect always follows a cause. Our present condition is ample evidence of the effect, and to change it we must study well the cause, which taken as a whole has brought us to be known as an Alliance. First of all, it is a well known rule in business, or other warfare that there is no hope for success between contending forces, regardless of the arms, or other goods used in competition, unless the intelligence of the minds engineering the contending forces are carefully weighed. To profit by our enemies' methods, we find that every other class interest in the world has made its union, and either by fact or inference have accepted these words to signify their line of defense: Unite, agitate, educate, federate, and with the spiritual halo, exemplified in the words Business Secrecy, we have for our example the most wonderful, and better still, successful hollow square for defense, the world has ever known.

And further, these emblems of power even between contending forces bring much more equitable fruits to the many who are thus organized, than is possible with us at present, and simply because of the power of compromise. As we now stand our strength is limited, but let us follow in the footsteps of our enemy and because of our numbers and natural resources of mind and body, we will have such strength that in the form of compromise at least, we can demand and secure just what we may ask for.

To begin, we must unite. "Yes," everybody

such check as this would soon make attorneys and collectors a little more respectable. They would work honestly then, and not as now prick up the creditor with false statements against the debtor that he might be the first one to get his neighbor, perhaps friend into financial trouble and clouded for all time with an unmerited discredit. In this connection, since we must for the present employ attorneys, Alliances should have one attorney or arrange to cut down on expense of suits. In many cases an adjudicating board might be established, and having examined the grounds of difficulty might influence the opposition very materially in bringing about a settlement. If not and the case is a just one, the whole should stand the expense of the suit.

Judges, like attorneys, labor for their class. The evidence may be sufficient to convince a jury even of farmers that a given decision should be made, but the judge's charge to the jury is frequently so worded that the evidence bears no part in the bringing about of a decision. All manner of tricks in law fill our statutes and we must look over the laws carefully and discover what must be legislated out of them. One law in Iowa (and likely in other states) I can call to mind is that which gives the right of a fee to the attorney or collector, say on a note, even if the attorney fee clause is stricken out. Again, that no suit could be commenced upon any bill or account unless the claimant first made oath that the account was correct and that this oath should be attached to the bill when presented. And further, that if the claim then be not a rightful one and suit commenced damages should be paid by the creditor for the insult.

Another case in point is that machine manufacturers should keep certain repairs for their machines within a given distance of the place where the machine was sold, or where the purchaser stated at the time of purchase it was to be used, and if the repairs were not so kept there, then the farmer should have the right to obtain damages to the extent of his loss from the machine manufacturer. As it is now, the purchaser is talked into buying some improved machine and because, oftentimes, the repairs for the old machine being hard to get, he does not

All pri placed on the railro state. Th are usual, stock in a business c in a measu state or go We must c Alliance is strength ou

In place o tax to assist should begi bettering of e be aided by s upon mainly private or sea lations of pri from the home and direct tax

In times ill: is demoralize money, and p very much in v get even just p our governmen when asked, Street and othe seem that som as proper were ers who are t debtors in the

And further, banks will not justice should thus causing i and other loss ing his produ creditor should claim the same debtor? A lead days ago that against any o of depositors, t cial crash. al-

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

ing payments, the debt, however, to bear in as agreed upon in body of note.

same practice would be very applicable merchants and others in the cities and towns, are aware of the greatest crimes committed by men who in their desire to loan money to customers, or to assist some wholesalers to goods, leads the borrower on and promises him further assistance, but who without notice or notice given in time to be of any use, would file claims at once against the creditor, many times closing him out and causing him irreparable loss in property, have all in name.

convince myself of the cause of failures in the state of Iowa for one year, I made special investigation of nearly every case some years and found this deception to be the main cause, and it is this, and this alone, which makes a large list of failures in the cities and towns.

are made bankrupts because of the actions of the money lender and his attorney. Have a law granting the existence of self-defense committees, who can also act as an arbitration board for all disputes and claims and will have checked the villainy of what is considered just under the caption "business" and will have saved much loss to those more rightly entitled to the accumulation of an average birthright.

inasmuch as we now know the term is that common of forces which says to every man, every woman, every child, you are a rascal.

in times like these the many who are oppressed, driven from pillar to post to good some claim—some salary sum to keep greedy conspirator of a creditor from adverting and taking the hard earnings of the farmer and family for a life time, the accumulations which have been made through the loss of blood and blood is struggling in millions of cases at this moment. Is not this anarchy?

Yes. The credit system is the curse of the farmer. It is unnatural, therefore severe. Then meet the issue for we are the defenders of the farmer.

much and I must call your attention to the fact that the operating crowning influence which we can bring about proper relief through new laws or commercial and social reform comes under the idea to federate. All our plans and purposes of education to publish much outside of our own respective we must federate, and in federation in a form to a greater extent as we may determine we can co-operate with others with like aims, who perhaps having demands we can assist to, still in the main may not be far off and by a thorough investigation of the fact that the demands might have upon each a reasonable settlement could be made, further strengthening of our farmers' union, which is the aim of all producers' union, no matter under what name they may be known.

turn we might have a claim or demand to upon congress, and without the assistance of other states' orders it would prove of no use whereas if we extended a helping hand, brother of the soil anywhere would not be the forget it.

news secrecy should permeate all our work is of much value, of vital importance; too much to our opponents, we should let them know just enough to make them as much as we can get from them of the of their business. Give but little, but get can, for we need it.

non-partisan organization we hold the of a great electro-magnet, having back our natural resources, supplying our educational facilities with the required electrical reform us into a magnet of such strength a better metal of our opponents, for gen-

eral purposes, is drawn to us, leaving the dross behind. We have this natural position—will we make use of it? Let me say with you, and methinks I hear it throughout the whole land, we must, we will make use of it.

The partisan press and leaders may accuse us of being fanatical, communistic, anarchical, demagogues, cranks, and the like. This is their plea, this their defense to our just demands. Do not heed them; the more said, the more we must do, as the boys have done when leaving the farm. We must heed logical argument, but none that are merely given to lead us away from our object—even by paid deceivers within our ranks.

Once it was written: "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now deserves the thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict the more glorious the triumph." And, brothers and sisters, in our mind's conception do we not hear the echo from the dried-up plains of Kansas, the Dakotas of the north, and continuing with its calls and answers in reverberation from throughout the whole land, without break for cause of line or section, returning to the prairies of Nebraska and my own Hawkeye home and birth-place, that we will not yield until our insignia, with its stars and stripes, be not complete nor prove its intrinsic value in quantity and quality unless it shall bear the center piece representing the home and its surroundings, truly representing ownership and occupation by intelligent beings—an ideal, yet practical republic.

And yet while we feel that it is just and right to attempt the working out of this broad platform, let us consider a little within our own circle. The farmers as a whole have much hereditary influence to combat; in this I refer particularly to the inert condition of the farmers themselves; for ages they have been the common feast, the tidbit for all, and, like the deer of the forest, they have been hounded and hunted until every fall of a limb, every crack of a twig or rustle of a commercial or political leaf has caused him and his family pain, and well it has, thus calling into action nature's better elements for defense, or there would be none left to form an Alliance.

With this hereditary taint upon our brothers and sisters in this work, we must study well the illustration of the deer and his career; when the weak ones, through fear, rush unto him for assistance oft-times, in his rage and because of his low order of intelligence, he will strike friend and foe alike. Let us defend our homes, and with special care those we are in the habit of calling weaker ones, until they can defend themselves; but let us not be too mindful of our own views, our own importance; make no sport of the man or woman, old or young, who, perhaps not your ideal, you think cannot, or ought not, to be taken in full harmony with your labors. Bear in mind that the ragged boot-black has often-times assisted in arranging the masterpieces of statesmen.

Let us first have faith in the honesty of our officers and members alike; let each person make the comparison of his fellow workers upon the like basis as himself, and the Alliance must then be a unit.

Let us look forward to better times, less interest, less taxes, better schools, more learning, greater knowledge, more equitable relationship between producer and consumer, socially as well as commercially, to the time when telephones will be of common use, our wagon roads be much improved, and traction engines and wire tramways or electric cars be in use carrying our products to the railroad station, instead of now by the heavily burdened wagon. These and

National * Farmers'

AT 170

ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

FIRST DAY—MORNING SESSION.

FIRST DAY—MORNING SESSION.
The eleventh annual meeting of the National Farmers' Alliance convened at Omaha, Nebraska, on Thursday, January 27th, 1891. President J. H. Powers called the meeting to order, and Secretary August Post was at the desk. Invocation by Rev. S. P. Groat.

It was decided on motion that the various sessions of the convention be held secret.

On motion the President appointed the following committee on credentials: N. B. Ashby, N. L. Bunnell, Wm. Kinerk, A. E. Brunson, Wm. Toole, G. D. Fullerton, N. M. Sargent, G. W. Haigh, W. S. Palmer, D. F. Ravens. Committee on credentials reported that the states named are entitled to and represented by the following number of delegates: Iowa 17, New York 2, Pennsylvania 2, Ohio 18, Illinois 6, Nebraska 43, Washington 4, Wisconsin 4, Minnesota 2, Missouri 2, Indiana 5.

The following were appointed a press committee: Miss Eva McDonald, W. H. Stone, D. F. Ravona

business of the
address of Pre
ADDRESS

BROTHERS OF THE
dustries of a coun-
try. Those
usual labor or that
carefully followed
thought, and then
chiefly on systemat-
ing. It is true that
manhood and wom-
combination of these
giant who towers ab-
of mind, his clearness
if he does not turn
cal use, is no more
stupid-brained, hard-
an adept in the sports
the more sense than
agility he emulates.
try and labor may be
duction of the necessa-
It brings forth, or the
arise from it. A man
act as skillful and
safe or a railway train,
his fellow men in a trad-
farmer or mechanic in a
But while in the one case
possession of that which
other, by violence

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

with evil, does not render those engaged in them necessarily worse than other men, nor remove them from claims to our consideration. But it does and should render them ineligible to membership in distinctively labor organizations. The man who earns enough bread for himself and family by the sweat of his brow, and in addition earns the big profits of the successful merchant, the usurious interest for the prosperous banker, the exorbitant rates for the railroad company and the surplus of taxes to be squandered by the corrupt office-holder and politician, has some interests that are not shared by any of these recipients of his earnings, and which can only be sustained by such combination of strength as can only be obtained by systematic organizations of those whose interests are identical.

It would naturally follow from these considerations that each separate branch of industry should have its separate organization. The blacksmith has peculiar interests in relation to raw material, tools, etc., which are different from the carpenter, and both of these from the shoemaker, and so with all the different trades and occupations. And all others differ from the farmer in this, that while people may for a time go barefooted or without shelter, the products of the farm are absolutely necessary every day, and all the time, for the very existence of every member of a civilized community.

But while trades unions and Knights of Labor assemblies are necessary in the cities, and the Farmers' Alliance and other kindred organizations are necessary in the country, there are interests which are common to all these, and for which some general organization is necessary.

The question of business co-operation on a scale of national magnitude is a very important one, and to be made productive of lasting benefit will require such careful consideration and such close and practical study as I have been unable to give to the subject. I would only suggest that until such an arrangement of the industries and business of the country is made, while the productions of the labor of every individual will add something to general comfort and prosperity, there will be room for improvement in that direction.

But it is in relation of those organizations to government that the greatest necessity for co-operation exists. No effective arrangements of a national character for the conduct of the business industries of the country can be made, and prove of benefit, without being in effect laws of the organizations which adopt them. And so to prevent general and continual conflict with the laws of the government itself, must be controlled by these societies.

How this can be accomplished, I think, is the most important question which should be considered at this session of our Alliance.

Two general plans at once present themselves to my mind for attaining this object. The first, that which has the sanction of the political history of our country and the prejudice arising from our own political education, is a new political party. The other, independent political action, which has been partially, but surprisingly, successful in a number of the states during the past years.

To the first proposition I am decidedly opposed, for the following reasons, viz: First, such a political party is not practical for industrial organizations. Such societies aim at reforms. And, although a party of them might, and would at the first, be formed on such principles as at that time were advocated by all, no such platform could be adopted unless on such vague presentation of principles as would be of little practical benefit as an assurance of wholesome political action, that would not in many parts soon become obsolete and of no effect.

Witness, the two parties which have divided the government during the last thirty years. Each of them was formed on principles which were definite and practical at the time, but long ago they have been lost sight of, and instead of the contin-

tion between them being on principle, it is a strife as to which can the most successful apply all the deception and corruption attending modern politics to gain the spoils of office and the management of the public treasury.

It is not possible to confine a political party to any one class or condition in society. From motives of principle or policy men of all classes would vote with the new industrial party, for it would be large and powerful enough to be sought after as the possible winning side. You could not reject the vote of a man because he does not belong to your society. The result would be, your new party would embrace bankers, lawyers, professional politicians, men who are not interested in you or your society, except in so far as your political triumph may give them a power and influence over you, and then, having a foothold in your party, they would soon gain the ascendancy, the same as they now possess in the old parties, and you would realize you only had the old party machine under a new name. In fact, the essential underlying principle of a political party is, that those who vote for you may be your political masters and compel you to vote as they dictate, or punish you with political ostracism and the party lash.

I believe in pledges. I believe men ought to be willing to pledge themselves to each other to vote for good men or good measures, but not vote for men or measures because a majority of any party or class of men may demand it.

But the important question is: How may political independence be successful?

I answer: Every new party is formed by independent political action, and all that is necessary for its success is that its principles should be held by a majority of the voters of the country or locality, and that they be enabled to nominate and concentrate their votes on such men as are true to those principles.

Now, as success has been achieved in this way in several instances, and that without the aid of any definite plan, but arising, as it were, on the spur of the moment, it does seem reasonable that by following out a definite, plain system for such action every year, that success would be the rule and not the exception.

What is the reason that in every great question of reform, or every measure for the public good which may be suggested and brought forward, it is difficult to get people to vote together? It is because they are arrayed against each other in existing political parties and those parties will not sanction such combination to sustain the principle as would be effective, but insist that their members must be arrayed against each other on partisan lines.

Surely some better way to reduce righteous principles into legal enactments must be devised.

Permit me to suggest a plan for your consideration. Let this Alliance discuss and agree upon such measures as it shall deem expedient to form a basis for political action for this year and next. Place this by correspondence before the other great industrial organizations, and with their concurrence let a convention be called at some central point for the purpose of comparing views and finally adopting as a national platform a concise set of principles which can be cordially supported by all. Then publish them to the world and let the remainder of the year be spent in disseminating these principles and preparing for the great struggle in 1892.

The subjects on which these principles are founded should be those which are most vital to the prosperity of the people, the honest laborers of the whole country, and which can be so impressed upon the majority of the people that they can be adopted and carried out.

I think they may be all included in the following list: Money reform, land reform, transportation reform, ballot reform, and the suppression of any vice that is tolerated by law to the peril of our national prosperity.

Time will not permit me to give any more than a

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

se subjects, but I hope that they may be discussed in such a definite line of action on during the discussion. It is not practical unanimity cannot be reached, it for the present should be left to political action. And in preference on these subjects, it is not a learner answer from you, my brothers, to my own.

of law. The intrinsic value of it is manufactured does. The piece of paper, eight by ten, issued by the government and purchased just as much and as the one hundred \$10 metal could be bartered for to manufacture \$1,000,000 of \$1, while the \$1,000 bill will fill \$1,000,000 worth of gold or say it if the creditor chose to "promise to pay" add one dollar. Let the stamp be reversed and "dollar" be printed on the back, the qualification and the gold to pay," and their relative value medium in this country. But if the gold were for all debts except taxes," it would be considered worth the

the government labels as money as money, and what will pay any subject of the government prescribed by law. Manufactured by the government people except it be put

in which this might be accomplished which would be far better than. The one, to estimate would be necessary to furnish the business of the people, amount of currency and expenses of the government in the

will labor and the products of labor receive certain and adequate reward.

On the question of transportation, but one solution of the difficulties seems to be left to us. Anticipating the attempt of the people to enforce their demand to bring the railroads under the control of law, combinations and consolidations have been effected to aim at, and bid fair to practically apply, a policy which shall enable the companies, or company (for I think they are virtually now but one), to dictate their own terms of operation and rates for service, or to subject the people of any locality or of the whole country to the alternative of being deprived of railroad service, and thus starve them into subjection. There is but one effective remedy for this, and that is for the government, which has always admitted its obligation to furnish ways of transportation for the people by giving to corporations and individuals privileges by charter to provide and operate such roads, to take them into its own hands and furnish that service for its people which the corporations have failed to render. How this should be brought about I shall expect to hear discussed by others before the close of this session. Suffice it to say that it is not consistent with true patriotism to permit an institution so necessary to the people to be run and managed in such a manner as to not only impoverish them, but to endanger the safety of the government itself. A premeditated connivance of these companies with foreign invasion, or domestic insurrection, might easily place our government at the mercy of its enemies. And the same disposition which leads them to rob the people would lead them to rob or destroy the government if they conceived it would be to their advantage.

Land reform is attended with as many difficulties as any question with which we have to deal. How to preserve the rights of property, the obligations of the government, and the natural rights of the tillers of the soil, may well puzzle the wisest philosophers. It seems to me the only clear way is for the government to recognize the God-given right to the soil of those who till it (not have it tilled), and that this result should be brought about in the least injurious and most equitable manner possible.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

nite information provided for, so that we may know the feelings, plans and actions of all parts of our brotherhood. If the secret work has the advantages of efficiency and permanency, ought it not to be adopted? And if that is concluded on, should there not be, in addition to the peculiar work or system for each state, a general mystic bond by which brethren from all parts of our country should be recognized and welcomed by each other?

Should there not be some prescribed active work for each of our officers to perform? Are we not by our lack of system and our loose, loose organizations as a national society, lay, of ourselves liable to be absorbed by other more compact organizations, which, although having the same general objects in view, would not be congenial to our brotherhood? I ask your earnest consideration of these matters, and trust that you will leave nothing undone which seems necessary to the efficient and successful execution of the great work we are attempting.

Let us not be deceived. It is no time for boys' play and mock demonstrations. There was a time when corporations and oligarchies looked upon us with untrifled contempt. That condition is changed. Three million voters cannot be drawn up in line in an army without attracting general attention, even though their discipline may be imperfect and their lines disconnected. The enemy is already marshalled for the battle. We must conquer or suffer ignominious defeat.

Be not deceived. This people must be redeemed. If we prove unworthy of the trust we have undertaken, God will raise up other instruments to accomplish His will, for He has purposed great things for this nation and will accomplish them. But we, how shall we answer for our lost opportunities? What will our children think of us? How shall we answer on that day when nations and societies are yet on trial as well as individuals?

Let us acquit ourselves like true men; let us encourage each other; let us close up the lines; let us lift up the banner of freedom on high; let us pass the word down along the ranks, "The People, God and Our Native Land." Let us about the battle cry, "United We Conquer," and our foes will be scattered. Light will break forth as the morning. Liberty will triumph. Our country will be redeemed.

On motion the address of the President was given to the Press Committee to be given to the press.

Resolution from Crown Alliance No. 1428, of Iowa, requesting the National Alliance to adopt an official pin was presented and referred to a committee consisting of J. M. Devine, G. D. Fullerton, A. R. Wright.

The following were appointed a committee on resolutions: O. T. Ashby, S. P. Groat, F. E. Fitch, Milton George, C. M. Butt.

The National Lecturer made a verbal report, after which Secretary Post made the following report:

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

To the President and Members of the National Farmers' Alliance:—The year that has elapsed since our last annual meeting has been marked by a very considerable advance of Alliance lines, by much substantial progress in Alliance work and by a gratifying growth in the constituent bodies organized under the auspices of this National assembly. The organization is commending itself, in a greater degree than ever before, to thoughtful farmers everywhere, and as its principles, purposes and methods become better understood, it is gaining ground in the respect, the esteem and the sympathy of that by far larger portion of the general public who are fair-minded, and who care to

do right and act justly. If it be still viewed with suspicion by some of this class, it is a matter which time will not right, as they, upon fuller information, become convinced that in laboring for the amelioration of our own social and economic condition, and the more accurate definition and better enforcement of our rights, we are nevertheless guided by a due regard for the legitimate rights of all other citizens. The good opinion of those who do not fall within this category we cannot expect and do not care to cultivate. Those who profit by the abuses under which we suffer, and those who, through an exclusive conservatism, are wedded to those abuses because they have always been accustomed to them, will now and always be numbered among our opponents.

GROWTH AND EXTENSION.

As auxiliary in this National body thirteen state Alliances are now organized. Since our last meeting four new state Alliances have been established: namely, in Indiana, in June last; in Missouri, in August, and in Pennsylvania and New York during the present month. The newly organized Alliances are in a prosperous condition, and are moving harmoniously along Alliance lines, and are rapidly organizing the territory subject to their jurisdiction. Three other states are preparing to organize and it is expected that they will shortly be in readiness. A considerable number of charters for subordinate Alliances have been granted during the year, pursuant to Section 1, Article IX of the constitution, in states where state Alliances do not yet exist. The prospects are that in three states sufficient growth will soon be made to warrant state organization in them.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF PRINTED MATTER.

During the past year the demand for printed matter setting forth the principles, purposes and methods of the National Alliance, has been very great. This demand has been supplied, in part, and to the extent of its resources available for the purpose, by the National Alliance. In the distribution of fifty thousand copies of the constitution and proceedings, and in part by the distribution of many thousand copies of the constitutions and proceedings of the several state Alliances. In a number of instances several successive editions of as many as twenty to fifty thousand each have been necessary to meet the demand, and in some it was found necessary to translate state constitutions into German, Swedish and Danish, and print over more editions to respond to the great and growing inquiry from farmers speaking those languages. The distribution of these publications has been conducted with care. They have not been lavishly scattered, but the aim has been to refuse no reasonable request for them when to grant it seemed likely to promote the interests and growth of the Alliance. It is recommended that in the formation of plans for the work of the ensuing year, the subject of providing sufficient printed matter of this character to enable the secretary to respond to calls for it, receive the consideration to which its importance entitles it.

ALLIANCE WORK.

Our constitution expressly proposes as its aim, the social, financial and political advancement of the farmer. It is gratifying to note that in nearly all of our state jurisdictions the importance of the social feature of our institution is obtaining larger recognition than was formerly the case. A great obstacle to harmonious action by farmers as a class, lies in the fact that their isolation on the farm puts them out of touch with each other, gives them few opportunities for informal, man-to-man discussion of questions of common interest, and interferes with the growth of that mutual confidence which is essential to united action. The importance, therefore, of frequent social meetings, in order that this obstacle may be minimized, is very great. They should be encouraged, urged and insisted on.

EDUCATION.

These meetings, besides promoting acquaintance, confidence and reliance upon one another, have large educational value. They can hardly occur without discussion of the farmers' situation and the problems that confront him. Interchange and comparison of views and ideas lead to harmonious and correct thinking. Fuller study of the ques-

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

results from it. We correct
 ke on new ideas, so that
 a point of formulating do-
 n we views that will bear in-
 can give sound reasons for,
 the intelligent extent of our
 very information from our va-
 the belief that more atten-
 social meetings, to discussion,
 of the facts relating to ques-
 and in educational work ven-
 previous period in our history.
 of the general public that this
 en we talk we know what we
 res added influence to our de-
 reader and more general se-

CO-OPERATIVE PURCHASING.

the co-operative purchasing
 ce varies greatly in different
 we it is a matter of consider-
 in others it is largely ne-
 carried on at all, there has
 iderable growth in the volume
 acted, which is some evidence
 nt and is growing in favor.
 It is found to possess a value
 nes effected on the purchases
 in this, that it tends to hold
 r, and also that it affects gen-
 erences local merchants and
 with more moderate profits
 us operates to the benefit of
 er in or out of the Alliance.

THE REFORM WORK.

the influence of the Nation-
 ary all the state bodies has
 vif of a number of measures
 or the repression of evils in-
 the agricultural interests,
 are the measures known
 the "land bill," the former
 price gambling in farm prod-
 ucts known as "options" and "fu-
 r" to so regulate the sale of
 prevent its fraudulent sale as
 takers and vendors of the
 item in such a manner as will

to o'comargarine and other forms of bogus
 butter, adulterated milk, unsafe illuminating oil
 dressed beef, etc. We should exert our best efforts
 to secure the passage of this measure both for our
 protection as producers and as consumers.

In the several states where Alliances exist auxil-
 iary to the National Alliance, the questions pre-
 senting themselves to our brethren for study and
 solution are many and various, which of them be-
 ing the dominant ones depending upon their vary-
 ing conditions. In a number the subject of such
 revision of the laws relating to taxation as will
 secure an equalization of the burdens of govern-
 ment is prominent. While the remedies sought
 differ under the differing circumstances of each
 state, the fundamental evil in all is that the farm
 bears more than its share of the burdens of tax-
 ation, and other forms of property evade their just
 burdens either in whole or in part. Our task should
 be to support our brethren in their efforts to secure
 justice in this regard, by all the moral and material
 assistance it is within our power to afford. In some
 of our jurisdictions the reduction of interest and
 efficient penal laws against usury are a part of the
 legislative reform work receiving special attention.
 Here, too, we should hold up the hands of our
 brethren and aid them to the uttermost.

In several of the states the school text book ques-
 tion has become of paramount interest, made so by
 the exorbitant prices which parents have
 been obliged to pay for the books neces-
 sary to give their children the education
 which parental care and affection and the demands
 of good citizenship alike deem essential as a pre-
 paration for life's duties. The common schools are
 the farmer's college. In them eighty per cent. of
 all the children in the country receive their educa-
 tional preparation for life's duties. It is therefore
 our duty to make them the best that is possi-
 ble and to see that the burdens of attend-
 ance, through exorbitant prices of text books
 used, be not made so great that the children of
 even the poorest shall be obliged to remain out of
 school. Who shall control these schools? Is to-day
 a question that we must meet. Our answer is, the
 friends who have fostered them, who have built
 them up and thoroughly believe in them. These
 are the people who should say who shall teach
 them, what shall be taught in them and what books

mal is practically helpless. Accordingly we find the sentiment of great interest in most of the states, with progress in each ranging all the way from zero to good. The greatest advance has probably been made in Iowa where an elective railway commission with power to fix rates on lines within the state and joint rates on connecting lines has been secured. The commission also has power to decide controversies arising between the roads and individuals or communities, and its decision is binding unless appeal is taken to the courts, and when appealed from, the burden of showing that it is wrong rest upon the road. Power is given to prevent all discriminations of whatsoever kind or nature, all pooling and all excessive charges, and, the commission being responsible directly to the people who elect it, the power is exercised. A shipper injured by any of the common railway abuses, if he must go into the court for final redress, goes in with a *prima facie* case in his favor, and not as formerly, with all the presumptions and burdens of proof against him. This gives the individual something like a fair chance for justice when opposed by corporate wealth and power. I venture to commend the Iowa system to the attention and study of our brethren in other states who are wrestling with the all-important questions of transportation and fair treatment in securing it. Many things remain to be done in the way of legislation before full justice is obtained for the farmer. Many abuses have yet to be corrected and many wrongs are yet to be righted. But in looking over the whole field I am encouraged to believe that the National Farmers' Alliance has devised methods applicable to them whereby, with careful study, patient labor and firm adherence to demands that are felt to be just, the wrongs may be righted, the abuses corrected and justice secured.

On motion, report was adopted and ordered published.

The report of the treasurer followed, and on motion was referred to an auditing committee consisting of Allen Root, J. B. Furrow and J. M. Mason.

The convention was then addressed by ex-president J. Burrows, of Lincoln, Nebraska.

On motion, a committee from each state was appointed, and termed a "Unit Committee," for the purpose of devising and formulating a plan for carrying out the plan outlined by Mr. Burrows in his address. The following are the committee: E. S. Parrott, Wm. Kliner, A. E. Brunson, A. T. Carter, W. E. Bell, N. H. Ashby, G. W. Haigh, Allen Root, D. F. Ravens, Charles Morgan, W. R. Laughlin.

The following were, on motion, appointed a committee on secret work: A. J. Westfall, J. M. Thompson, Joshua Crawford.

A communication from a delegation representing the General Assembly of the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association was presented as follows:

OMAHA, NEBRASKA, January 27, 1891.—J. H. POWERS, President National Alliance.—*Dear Sir and Brother:*—The undersigned committee, appointed by the General Assembly of the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, at its recent session in Springfield, Illinois, to attend your National meeting and to confer with a like committee of the National Alliance on the subject of a closer union of our organization, are in the city, and await your pleasure. (Signed,) W. T. Sullivan, T. W. Haynes, F. J. Claypool, John P. Stelle, James Jennings.

On motion, fraternal greetings were

extended to the brethren representing the F. M. B. A. delegation and they were invited to seats in the convention.

On motion, Ben Torrell, representing F. A. & I. U., was also invited to a seat in the convention.

On motion, the visiting brethren were invited to address the convention at tomorrow's session.

Adjourned until 7:30 P. M.

EVENING SESSION.

President Powers in the chair. The evening session was introduced by the following address, delivered by Mr. D. H. Talbot, of Sioux City, Iowa.

ADDRESS OF MR. D. H. TALBOT.

MR. PRESIDENT AND DELEGATES OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE. *Ladies and Gentlemen:*—Permit me to address you as brothers and sisters in our commercial and social organization, offering a few business suggestions.

At a recent meeting of our Iowa State Farmers' Alliance Executive Committee it was agreed that each member of our Executive Committee should write a paper upon some general plan, topic or work thought best for the interests of the Alliance. And in carrying out this plan it has fallen to my lot to consider that part which will apply more forcibly towards the educating of the people, i. e., the presenting of such thought as may assist in causing moderate discussion, debate—in bringing the members of our Alliance to a better understanding of the grave position which the farmers now occupy. This paper I take pleasure in submitting to you for your consideration.

For me to outline this subject fully would require too much space in a paper of this kind, therefore it must be cared for in a rather hurried manner, trusting that in the main it may prove of some benefit in eliciting the ideas or thoughts of those who, though knowing the wrongs under which they live have not the courage to openly express themselves and in a proper, business-like manner demand and secure correction of their wrongs.

To properly understand just what our position is we must first consider that effect always follows a cause. Our present condition is ample evidence of the effect, and to change it we must study well the cause, which taken as a whole has brought us to be known as an Alliance. First of all, it is a well known rule in business, or other warfare that there is no hope for success between contending forces, regardless of the arms, or other goods used in competition, unless the intelligence of the minds engineering the contending forces are carefully weighed. To profit by our enemies' methods, we find that every other class interest in the world has made its union, and either by fact or inference have accepted these words to signify their line of defense: Unite, agitate, educate, federate, and with the spiritual halo, exemplified in the words Business Secrecy, we have for our example the most wonderful, and better still, successful hollow square for defense, the world has ever known.

And further, these emblems of power even between contending forces bring such more equitable fruits to the many who are thus organized, than is possible with us at present, and simply because of the power of compromise. As we now stand our strength is limited, but let us follow in the footsteps of our enemy and because of our numbers and natural resources of mind and body, we will have such strength that in the form of compromise at least, we can demand and secure just what we may ask for.

To begin, we must unite. "You," everybody

question is: "Do you mean it?" sentimental side of the question about it, and stick to it. of a trust or fear of meeting from the city because of their better or know more or ought and that you should not remain honored member of the of all swear by the principles remaining true to its teaching, question that the herald ally to our order as well as to so successfully opposed us. consequently the duty we that we foster such interests, shall be like a republic unto these farmers' units in inter- ally an Alliance unit. This next is to agitate. A word troubled waters, exciting approaching rebellion from of thought or practice. of blood or business that ed men and women gain ough agitation the lethargy gone prior to the contest, light and determination to dvance in their education as ough physically and men- any assailant. It is for this usually brisk or prosperous between countries. To ed- agitate, debate. And lo one, as a unit of the whole, methods by which we are found let them be referred in proper form and there the voice of the whole de- deth we must act to secure may be of benefit to us. pares the way for education. ranch of the work, it seems t we should have a board of rs to whom the reports of

This is the plan that has been in practice all time, the combinations of capital and the floating labor of the cities have controlled, and do now intend to control the farmers' organization. In this connection we find then that the floating labor, usually the single la oring men of the cities, are simply the tools of the monopolist, and alike rob the poor laborer of the city who is trying to secure a home, as well as the farmer brother. They generally make the majorities and it is through this element that the rings and hoodlums of the cities control the elections. With us we do not want any of these men, even as helpers on our farms.

To correct and assist in making a more perfect union of our order each local Alliance should be constituted a labor board and that when one of their members desires to go from that locality to another to look for work, that the Alliance should assist him through the Secretary corresponding with other Alliances of the state or elsewhere, and with a carefully prepared statement of what the man or woman can do and be depended upon, we will have in a great measure settled the labor question and have laid the foundation for more trustworthy farmers and excellent house wives, whose interests being as great as those of the men should be placed strictly upon the like footing as the men.

And I further believe that the Alliance should be the first to earnestly demand that women have the same rights at the polls as men because the mothers, wives and daughters of farmers are entitled to it.

Remember the fact as brothers and sisters in this the realm of the Supreme, who dare say without insult, that the one has not the same rights as the other?

A matter of serious importance in this connection is the growing influence of women in the cities. School statistics show us that in the schools of the cities and large towns that the boys are taken away before graduating for the

As now practiced the age of the cities, our opponents.

Being old and stale it is called precedent. The Alliance wants new laws of value to us, and not so much precedent. We want young men in suit, even if surrounded by gray hairs, the honor of life.

This is an age of progression, an age of electricity, an age of combination, of the harmonizing of like interests. The boys and girls see this, the spirit of their surroundings make them feel it more acutely than is possible for us older ones.

It gives them more pain than we can appreciate—then let us be very lenient, let us be very consistent, taking all these conditions as statements of fact.

I say give the younger growing brains a chance to develop—give them allotted work which may be of value to them, and in so doing ask them to study and suggest new plans. No fear but they can and will do it, and it is with them the life of our order rests. They will respect our experience and are to consult with us, but consider seriously, the Alliance needs young blood to go with our adversaries in the cities.

Have you ever observed that the leading monopolists of the cities, the men whom we now find the hardest to master, are the boys from the farm? These are of the boys who did not like the old foggy methods that were there practiced. This is the blood we want to remain with us, to help in the struggle for our homes, our very being.

Do not oppose a boy, particularly a farmer's boy whom the Almighty has done so much for, but let us ask him to not leave the farm, but instead to suggest what he thinks better for us to do. We will in turn likely be surprised at the answers, but then be considerate; they may not be very far wrong.

For debate, moderate discussion, and for consideration in a commercial sense I submit herewith a few special suggestions, a few minor with others worthy of more careful study.

Besides the resolutions passed at our conventions such corrections as may be deemed best in our laws by our present and coming congress and state legislatures should be acted upon by the Alliance, and having prepared our wants make such demand upon the members of the legislative bodies that the laws asked for shall be passed. And further, consider the advisability of a law covering, that at any time a state legislator or a member of congress would not carry out his agreement with the people who elected him, that the given section or district electing him can, by vote, at once regardless of his term of office, withdraw him and place another in his stead.

The people then would be supreme and not governed as at present by politicians. Let the vote be a sacred right based upon the interests of the home, and the representative, if not making good his agreement, should forfeit his right to longer act as the agent of the home. Again, the man who will vote for a price and not from conviction of principle should be disfranchised. Commercial enterprises are in keeping with farmers' work, and their bearing upon the farm must be studied, for we are both laborer and manufacturer. Concentration of time and saving of wastage is the key to commercial success.

Co-operative business enterprises of all kinds must be adopted by Alliance people in due time. The co-operative stores of the old countries are a marked success and they will be the same here, provided they are placed under the control of such men, who have proved themselves to be a success, and not as has been too frequently the case, to place such cares in the hands of some enthusiast who, though willing to labor for a small salary, had not the first principle of business or business experience about him.

A man who has all to make and nothing to

lose is not the proper person to trust with an enterprise, and particularly a co-operative one. Under proper management more profit could be made by the farmer for his produce, and the consumer get his staples cheaper. As an illustration, the tradesmen's co-operative stores in Great Britain supply their customers with our American bacon and other products cheaper than is possible for the consumer in this country to buy from our country or city stores. But mind you without good management the outcome will be a financial failure, a disappointment.

Telephone service is the next important adjunct to a farm and when generally adopted and the building and the keeping up of the line to be by tax similar to road tax, the telephone to be paid for by the user, will bring the farmer closer together, and will in a great measure less on the disadvantages which they must now bear as compared with their city brethren, whose questions of daily demand are to be acted upon. I have made use of farm telephone service for five years and would not now want to work without it. In the interest of the Alliance, I have a proposition from the telephone company, but the rate is too high as yet.

Consider this question carefully, also local township circulating libraries. Statistical enumerators should be selected from Alliance men that is, such men as would pass the required examination to prove that they are competent to gather statistics covering farm products. A present the manipulators of the grain and other products in the market have experienced men well paid, who make accurate reports to their masters, while our government select politicians too frequently whose aim is to satisfy their masters—the men who now run the government, our nation's gamblers. I would like very much, and I believe it advisable, for some few young farmers to co-operate in farming, to organize a joint stock company, and at first, perhaps, to run farms and begin a system of farming where accounts are carefully kept of all expenditures and incomes.

If this can be done then the farmer will have a practical education in account keeping in like manner as is done in business elsewhere, and carried out to a business conclusion there will be much of the lands of our country go into hands of farmers' joint stock companies where less machinery will be required proportionally, and with greater returns. The foremanship of these places will require an educated practical man, a man of intelligence and business capacity thus making increased demands for agricultural colleges, experiment stations, district farm academies with farms profitably handled, attached, and agricultural training in our country schools. It will also have the tendency to make the home farmer, the man with the family and the small farm, king of his holdings. The wife and children will not be as too many of them are now—slaves to cook for working men—too much to do, and nothing but hardship in return.

The home on the farm should be a better source of intelligence than even the home in the city. Too much manual labor destroys the more valuable brain power. Other corporations in harmony should be considered. Local slaughter house building should have a hearing, and if a sufficient number of farmers will kill their own product in cattle, hogs, sheep and poultry, arrangements can be made for special refrigerator car rates that our dead meats may be taken to cold storage houses in the East for sale in private, or by public outcry. I am in correspondence with cold storage houses in the eastern markets, and trust before long, if the farmers will co-operate, we will do something toward checking the "Big Four" from getting everything away from us.

Lawyers are educated at our expense and in many cases poorer without cause. Many a note would not be forced to collection at the time it



ment upon the acts of the attorney.

Some such check as this would soon make attorneys and collectors a little more respectable. They would work honestly then, and not as now prick up the creditor with false statements against the debtor that he might be the first one to get his neighbor, perhaps friend into financial trouble and clouded for all time with an unmerited discredit. In this connection, since we must for the present employ attorneys, Alliances should have one attorney or arrange to cut down on expense of suits. In many cases an adjudicating board might be established, and having examined the grounds of difficulty might influence the opposition very materially in bringing about a settlement. If not and the case is a just one, the whole should stand the expense of the suit.

Judges, like attorneys, labor for their class. The evidence may be sufficient to convince a jury even of farmers that a given decision should be made, but the judge's charge to the jury is frequently so worded that the evidence bears no part in the bringing about of a decision. All manner of tricks in law fill our statutes and we must look over the laws carefully and discover what must be legislated out of them. One law in Iowa (and likely in other states) I can call to mind is that which gives the right of a fee to the attorney or collector, say on a note, even if the attorney fee clause is stricken out. Again, that no suit could be commenced upon any bill or account unless the claimant first made oath that the account was correct and that this oath should be attached to the bill when presented. And further, that if the claim then be not a rightful one and suit commenced damages should be paid by the creditor for the insult.

Another case in point is that machine manufacturers should keep certain repairs for their machines within a given distance of the place where the machine was sold, or where the purchaser stated at the time of purchase it was to be used, and if the repairs were not so kept there, then the farmer should have the right to obtain damages to the extent of his loss from the machine manufacturer. As it is now, the purchaser is talked into buying some inferior machine and because of

making payments, the debt, however, to bear interest as agreed upon in body of note.

This same practice would be very applicable to merchants and others in the cities and towns, for I am aware of the greatest crimes committed by bankers who in their desire to loan money to their customers, or to assist some wholesalers to sell goods, leads the borrower on and promises to continue farther assistance, but who without any excuse or notice given in time to be of any assistance, would file claims at once against the dropped creditor, many times closing him out and thus causing him irreparable loss in property, and above all in name.

To convince myself of the cause of failures in the state of Iowa for one year, I made special investigation of nearly every case some years ago and found this deception to be the main cause, and it is this, and this alone, which makes such a large list of failures in the cities and towns.

Men are made bankrupts because of the viciousness of the money lender and his attorney. Have a law granting the existence of self-defense committees, who can also act as an arbitration board for all disputes and claims and we will have checked the villany of what is now considered just under the caption "business," and will have saved much loss to those who are more rightly entitled to the accumulations of an average birthright.

Business as we now know the term is that correlation of forces which says to every man, every woman, every child, you are a racial.

And in times like these the many who are being oppressed, driven from pillar to post to make good some claim—some paltry sum to keep some greedy conspirator of a creditor from adding costs and taking the hard earnings of the debtor and family for a life time, the accumulations which have been made through the loss of flesh and blood is struggling in millions of instances at this moment. Is not this anarchy? I say yes. The credit system is the curse of the world. It is unnatural, therefore severe. Then let us meet the issue for we are the defenders of homes.

This much and I must call your attention to the fact that the operating crowding influence by which we can bring about proper relief through new laws or commercial and social co-operation comes under the idea to federate. With all our plans and purposes of education to accomplish much outside of our own respective states, we must federate, and in federation in a limited or to a greater extent as we may determine, we can co-operate with others with like laborers, who perhaps having demands we can not consent to, still in the main may not be far separated and by a thorough investigation of the effect that the demands might have upon each other, a reasonable settlement could be made, and a further strengthening of our farmers' position, which is the aim of all producer's orders, no matter under what name they may be known.

In turn we might have a claim or demand to make upon congress, and without the assistance of all other states' orders it would prove of no avail, whereas if we extended a helping hand, the tiller of the soil anywhere would not be the first to forget it.

Business secrecy should permeate all our workings; it is of much value, of vital importance; we tell too much to our opponents, we should only let them know just enough to make them tell us as much as we can get from them of the secrets of their business. Give but little, but get all you can, for we need it.

As a non-partisan organization we hold the position of a great electric-magnet, having back of us our natural resources, supplying our educational facilities with the required electrical current to form us into a magnet of such strength that the better metal of our opponents, for gen-

eral purposes, is drawn to us, leaving the dross behind. We have this natural position—will we make use of it? Let me say with you, and me thinks I hear it throughout the whole land, we must, we will make use of it.

The partisan press and leaders may accuse us of being fanatical, communistic, anarchical, demagogues, cranks and the like. This is their plea, this their defense to our just demands. Do not heed them; the more said, the more we must do, as the boys have done when leaving the farm. We must heed logical argument, but none that are merely given to lead us away from our object—even by paid deceivers within our ranks.

Once it was written: "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now deserves the thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict the more glorious the triumph." And, brothers and sisters, in our mind's conception do we not hear the echo from the dried-up plains of Kansas, the Dakotas of the north, and continuing with its calls and answers in reverberation from throughout the whole land, without break for cause of line or section, returning to the prairies of Nebraska and my own Hawkeye home and birth-place, that we will not yield until our insignia, with its stars and stripes, be not complete nor prove its intrinsic value in quantity and quality unless it shall bear the center piece representing the home and its surroundings, truly representing ownership and occupation by intelligent beings—an ideal, yet practical republic.

And yet while we feel that it is just and right to attempt the working out of this broad platform, let us consider a little within our own circle. The farmers as a whole have much hereditary influence to combat; in this I refer particularly to the inert condition of the farmers themselves; for ages they have been the common feast, the tidbit for all, and, like the deer of the forest, they have been hounded and hunted until every fall of a limb, every crack of a twig or rustle of a commercial or political leaf has caused him and his family pain, and well it has, thus calling into action nature's better elements for defense, or there would be none left to form an Alliance.

With this hereditary taint upon our brothers and sisters in this work, we must study well the illustration of the deer and his cares; when the weak ones, through fear, rush unto him for assistance oft-times, in his rage and because of his low order of intelligence, he will strike friend and foe alike. Let us defend our homes, and with special care those we are in the habit of calling weaker ones, until they can defend themselves; but let us not be too mindful of our own views, our own importance; make no sport of the man or woman, old or young, who, perhaps not your ideal, you think cannot, or ought not, to be taken in full harmony with your labors. Bear in mind that the ragged boot-black has often-times assisted in arranging the masterpieces of statesmen.

Let us first have faith in the honesty of our officers and members alike; let each person make the comparison of his fellow workers upon the like basis as himself, and the Alliance must then be a unit.

Let us look forward to better times, less interest, less taxes, better schools, more learning, greater knowledge, more equitable relationship between producer and consumer, socially as well as commercially, to the time when telephones will be of common use, our wagon roads be much improved, and traction engines and wire tramways or electric cars be in use carrying our products to the railroad station, instead of us now by the heavily burdened wagon. These can

of five, the writer being one of them. In any appointment I would respectfully ask to be appointed to the position of reporter upon any matter outside of the above. Any question asked I will answer if possible, and will consider favor if you will make report to me of your discussion upon any communication suggested above or which in your judgment suggests itself as likely to prove of value to the alliance.

Following which Mr. Milton George, Editor of the *Western Rural*, Chicago, presented the following paper:

REFORMS AND REFORMERS.

The human race has struggled along through the ages with alternate periods of hope and despair, fighting for God-given rights that were so often denied. That even those who denied the rights did not dispute the justice of the claim. The day living in the midst of a brilliant sun. The world has reached it through hard and discouraging experiences, through severe struggles, and even through seas of blood.

Upon every hand the genius of intelligence and turning the rough elements of the wilderness and the factory into wealth and comfort for the comfort of the human

race. The wild plain and the valley, and the blooming fragrant gardens. We have turned the river and the rivulet into the desert, and the fields and blossoms like the rose. We have turned the marshes and the quicksands, and the magnificent cities of the world, through the life and enterprise, lift their splendid heads and charm the world with their beauty and stately grandeur. If asked to-day why America needs to perfect her material development, he who knows her magnificent resources, her restlessness and the sturdy character of her people, her women, would answer nothing but the universal recognition of justice between man and man and class. Through all

the men who had built her temples, her art galleries and clothed her science, and then the glory of power to fade, and it ceased not until all of Rome was a disfigured memory.

It is the duty of the American to the cause of the downfall of the have preceded it, and to avoid the it is not difficult to discover the causes which worked the ruin of the municipalities are at work in this. The centralization of populations is inimical to the best interests of the

The ignoring of the rights of the evil is disastrous, and when the are neglected and its dignity despised, people who are guilty of the sin wrong are heading not toward glory but toward a fatal plunge to death.

While great cities may contain good and best in government, that which is worst and vilest, a great source of danger to society public. The tendency of social periods of the World's history has toward that which is evil, that has been necessary and have attracted of all historians and have done for the conditions of mankind these well meaning people have been and often exceedingly impractical and thus hindered what they would do.

It has usually remained for conservative people to follow with practical for the accomplishment of reforms slavery agitators—the men and women whose indignation resolved that there was a "Covenant with death and hell," who denounced the flag as a traitor and were otherwise intemperate and action, provoked the rebellion in our late civil war, while the conservatives abolished slavery, the greatest sin and saved the Union.

The Greenback party, composed of the most sterling men, contended for all money by the government to

create or widen the breach between two great sections of a common country. Living under a government that has been founded as no other government has been founded—upon fraternity—our political campaigns are largely an assault upon the doctrine of the universal brotherhood of men, and weakening to the bonds that hold the Union together. It is the patriotic duty of the conservative farmer, who is to-day crying out for the rights of a citizen and a man, to recognize the deplorable effect of radical, rasping partisan utterances and actions, and endeavor to counteract the influence by demanding a fuller recognition of the principles of fraternity, the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men.

The husbandman has a much broader mission than simply securing his own rights. It is true, that in securing these he will bestow a great blessing upon the whole country, as well as upon himself. It is surprising that while America is pre-eminently an agricultural country, husbandry has been looked upon as having little significance in its bearing, in its economic and social questions of our time. Great fortunes have been amassed during the past quarter of a century, or more colossal than any previously recorded in the history of the world. The new improvements in the facilities for communication, commerce and travel have opened up the pathways through which must pass the products of the soil to reach the markets of the world, and through which must come the necessities of life, which the producer must receive in exchange for what he has to sell. Neither has the husbandman any voice in what he shall receive, or what he shall pay for what he sells or buys. He is even at the mercy of the public carriers, the transportation companies, which exact all the tribute they can.

The farmers have patiently submitted to being heavily assessed by the army of middlemen along these avenues of trade and commerce to the extent that untold millions have gone into the hands of the few, which by right belong to the many. He also bends his back to the burdens of direct taxation because of the tangible nature of his property which produce the revenues necessary to support the great army of office holders who legislate in the interest of the capitalist classes and corporations, instead of the people who produce the wealth of the nation. There is a great multitude of non-producers who look upon farmers as a common property to be leased at will, and all sorts of schemes are concocted in the name of business to relieve them of their legitimate earnings.

Is it to be expected that they will continue to submit to being thus ruled and financially ruined? The notice has already gone forth that they will not, and if they, in coming to the front on the economic, social and political questions of the day, give "the other fellows" a dose of their own kind of treatment, as retributive justice, they cannot well be blamed for imposing measures of retaliation as the only way by which the farmers will ever recover lost ground financially.

The publisher of the *Western Rural* was instrumental in founding the Farmers' Alliance April 14th, 1884, and the National Alliance October 14th of the same year, as a non-secret and non-partisan organization, with the belief that the only way the farmers could "hold the fort" against the encroachments of the aggressors was by standing together in an organized body; that by special contact the walls of prejudice might be broken down and farmers lifted out of the old environments of inherited opinions and prejudices with views broadened and fraternal relations strengthened for the better performance of the duties of citizenship. The independent vote in the late election was the result of the social contact and interchange of opinions in the farmers' organizations, and inclined to intelligent action at the polls. While the farmers' organizations in their official capacity, are non-partisan

and must remain so, their individual membership outside the orders, as free American citizens, refused to fall into line at the dictation of the "party bosses."

Ours is a progressive age, and the farmers' movement has come to stay. No party has the right to claim the victory. The action of the farmers in the late election was conservative, and in its results meant the success of neither party, and proved conclusively that a new party movement based on a conservative platform embracing the leading reforms so much needed, would gain a sweeping victory in electing all officers in state and national government in 1892. A free people in its dependent citizenship must finally rule this country instead of the money power and the chronic office holders. The Farmers' Alliance, north and south, with its educational facilities, might finally solve the race problem by fitting the colored people for a self-reliant citizenship. The prejudices between the two sections of our country, North and South, might be allayed, and fraternal relations between all classes intensified. The bitter enmities between the two old parties engendered by strifes of the late civil war would disappear, the rum demon in the open saloon might be suppressed and finally blotted out, and other reform work advocated by the farmers and the labor elements of the nation might be promoted. All these objects are worth striving for. The Farmers' Alliance and other organizations should be cautioned along these lines of conservative but persistent action by all who have an interest in the final triumph of the many needed measures of reform now agitating the public mind. Complete organization is one of the first requisites for successfully reaching any great results for the betterment of the condition of our people, whether they be farmers or wage workers. If the actions of the farmers are persistent and progressive, as outlined above, they must soon be the ruling class in all the affairs of government. It may seem to some of us that our progress in the work of reform has been slow and discouraging. For fifteen years we have been laboring steadily to correct existing evils and to establish better systems. We are familiar with what has been done and desire to say with all possible emphasis that under existing circumstances progress has not been slow. We have been compelled to work for the uprooting of systems and wrongs which have been gradually maturing for fifty years, and which are to-day backed by some of the strongest men in the country, in many cases by an utter lack of conscience, and by millions of capital.

We cannot reform such evils in a day or year, or a dozen years, but we have made an advance wherever we have made an attack. We have established the principle that the state can regulate the rates of railroad companies; we have arrived at a period when even congress steps forward to regulate inter-state transportation; we have secured legislation to prevent the utterly reckless sale of adulterated farm products; we have forever put a stop to the further giving of the public lands to corporations; we have seen political parties getting down upon their knees to the farmers—whom they once ignored—and begging for their influence and support, and we see to-day several legislatures in the hands of the farmers, and we behold a farmer's movement that really threatens the destruction of all political parties unless the farmer receives such attention, by the government, as his interests demand. If that is not a wonderful change in affairs in the short period of fifteen years, we are at a loss to conceive what more could be expected in that time. Of course much of vital importance is yet to be accomplished, and will be accomplished.

Our circulating medium has never yet been properly regulated by our government. The time has come when the farmer shall be treated

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

any and imposition of the
our financial policy has di-
Any financial system which
from borrowing money as
class can borrow it, is an in-
Any system that places the
or diminish the circulating
ge extortionate interests on
uds, is a stupid blunder on
ent, and a great wrong upon

should have full control of
of the country. It should
et instead of indirectly, as
ould devise some method by
ould borrow at a reasonable
ce, however, can bestow no
n the farmer than to discour-
m, and by aiding him to get
of prosperity by making his
basis and keeping out of

donable crime against man-
er we re-lize it the better—If
y, with all their splendid op-
eried resources, fail to lift
nce to the highest point of
y, morally, physically and

of sterling worth, composed
minds and hearts of all na-
ence and the ability of the
beneath our flag, and should
ed that liberty shall be com-
ablished among men. Under
ent like ours the importance
emphasized.

minds and aspirations of
right, society will be inspired
here will be no conflicts be-
s. In some quarters there is
the individual out of sight
amount. It will not work.
ever proved a success, and
man nature itself is radical-

until a mighty nation under the star spangled
banner shall rule the world with a benedict
and christian impulse.

National Lecturer Ashby then briefly
addressed the convention after which it
adjourned till 9:00 a. m. Wednesday.

SECOND DAY—MORNING SESSION.

President Powers in the chair. Ses-
sion opened by prayer. Minutes of yes-
terday's convention read and approved.

A rule was adopted limiting debate to
five minutes and no delegate to speak
more than once on any one question
without consent of convention.

A vote of thanks was given Messrs.
Talbot, George and Ashby for the able ad-
dresses delivered by them at last night's
session.

Mr. E. E. S. Eagle, of the firm of H.
R. Eagle & Co., wholesale supply house,
Chicago, Illinois, was then introduced
and addressed the convention upon the
benefits of co-operative and direct buying.

The remainder of the session was then
occupied by hearing the report of the
Committee on Constitution and the adop-
tion of the Constitution. (The Consti-
tution as adopted is published in separ-
ate pamphlets and will be sent free to all
applicants).

President Stillwell, of the F. M. B. A.,
then addressed the convention urging
co-operation between the two organiza-
tions. He was responded to by Presi-

WHEREAS, The farmers of the United States are most in number of any order of citizens, and with other productive classes have freely given of their blood to found and maintain the nation;

WHEREAS, Experience has taught us that in the great plain people is our country's sure hope in the time of need, and that salvation from peril must be wrought out by their loyal faith and willing sacrifices;

WHEREAS, This government is our government, and any existing administration is our administration, regardless of the political party that placed it in power;

WHEREAS, We recognize in these troubled times the need of appealing to the higher nature of man, that they may seal anew their belief in the holiness of self-sacrifice and the meanness of greed, and thus be ready to give just condemnation to whomsoever makes selfish spoil of the substance of the people, whether it be Great Capitalist or Industrial Corporations;

WHEREAS, Many reforms are needed, and we ask for legislation and enforcement of law to bring them about, and we demand the passage of these measures, not in the name of any party, but in the name of justice, in the name of the people;

Resolved, That the productive classes should have no interest in the factional wars that are waged for place alone, by professional partisans, while righteous reforms languish for lack of unity among honorable and patriotic men.

Resolved, That we demand that the Interstate Commerce law be so amended and enforced, that by the aid of the commerce laws of each state, enacted or shall be enacted, as supplementary thereto and in harmony with the general law, that the people shall be served so liberally that the income on railroads shall not exceed a reasonable per cent. of profit upon the actual capital invested therein. The value to be fixed by an annual appraisal of the same. We also demand that the rights of the people shall be enforced by the government by foreclosure upon its claim against the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroad Companies, and that the same be operated in the interests of the people, and that the government extend the system to the eastern seaboard, with the ultimate end in view of government ownership of all the railroads in the Nation. The telegraph should be owned by the government and become a part of the postal system.

Resolved, That we demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver on an equality with gold, and that the government shall issue all money whether it be gold, silver or notes, and that the volume of money now in circulation shall be increased to fifty dollars per capita and maintained there.

Resolved, That believing that it has been established that the average annual increase of wealth of the Nation is not above three and one-half per cent., therefore we believe that the rate of interest in the various states should not exceed the earning capacity of the land in the state.

Resolved, That we favor the immediate passage by the United States Senate of the bill as passed by the House of Representatives known as the Capper Pure Land Bill.

Resolved, That we favor the passage of the Butterworth Anti-Option Bill.

Resolved, That the state laws relating to the manufacture and sale of so-called bogus butter be so amended that all persons who use the same shall be compelled to post notices of the fact of such use, to protect actual consumers as well as producers.

Resolved, That we believe that under our financial and revenue systems small property holders pay an undue share of taxation, and we ask that all bonds, mortgages and incomes shall be taxed and that all property shall be taxed at its real

cash value, but that all real estate and chattels shall be released to the extent of mortgages upon them, and we pledge ourselves to work in our own respective states to accomplish this much needed reform.

Resolved, That we demand that the Senators of the United States be elected by a direct vote of the people.

Resolved, That for the protection of the government, we believe in such a qualified franchise as shall exclude paupers and criminals, and that we demand such legislation in regard to the liquor traffic as will prevent that business from increasing our taxes, endangering the morals of our children and destroying the usefulness of our citizens.

Resolved, That we favor the reform in the mode of balloting known as the Australian system.

Resolved, That we believe that women have the same inherent right as their husbands to the property acquired during married life, and we favor such state laws as will give her these rights and the equally inherent and consequent right to the ballot.

Resolved, That we believe in so amending the public school system that the education of our children shall be a practical help to them in after life. The theoretical plan that now exists infects many with the idea that physical labor is not genteel. This sentiment tends to create a helpless class whose inevitable drift is towards an almshouse and prison. Our country needs an educational system based on moral, manual and intellectual training that inculcates the essential dignity and necessity of honest labor.

Resolved, That we recommend that all farmers' organizations give their moral support to the legislature of the state of Illinois and other states to the extent that such laws be enacted to protect commerce transacted through the Union and other stock yards and elevators of the cities. That the expense to the producers imposed by those great corporations are extortionate and entirely out of proportion to the services rendered.

Resolved, That the agricultural colleges magnificently endowed by government and dedicated to the purposes of agriculture and the mechanic arts should be held faithfully to the conditions of the grant, and as they have in many cases been diverted we demand that they be restored, and held to the high purpose of their creation, in ministering to and ennobling industry.

Resolved, That we sympathize with the just demand for labor of every class, and recognize that many of the evils from which the farming community suffers oppress universal labor, and that, therefore, producers should unite in a demand for the reform of unjust systems and the repeal of laws that bear unequally upon the people.

Resolved, That the working classes of this country form a great conservative and conserving element whose power must stand between the nation and the dangers which now threaten its future well-being which come from the unrestrained greed of the influential monopolists who defile laws and trample upon principles of justice in his method of acquiring the wealth that others create, and the less influential, less successful, but more demonstrative rabble who practice violence.

Resolved, That we favor a liberal system of pensions for the soldiers of the late war.

Resolved, That the President and Vice-President of the United States should be elected by a direct vote of the people.

Resolved, That we believe that in the system of national, state and municipal taxation; taxes should be so levied that the burdens of payment will be equally and justly distributed upon all classes.

Resolved, That the tiller of the soil should be the owner thereof, and so that and we demand

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE

ended that no non-resident own any land in the United States be not permitted to own more than shall be absolutely necessary for the business of other than farming, and that the limiting the quantity of land may own, to some reason-

onds of the government lie on the land of the nation, therefore the owners of their own security, should with the bankers and other money from the government, the government do issue which shall be full legal tender, this money shall be loaned on real estate, at a rate of not over two per cent., and we wish to three thousand dollars each, and would exclude all money from borrowing such money shall be divided among the population, and then the farmers on the Pacific

ally sack their grains, and a great and heavy cost to the people.

as the National Farmers' Union, ask that our representatives in Washington, be urged to get the material used in to come into the United

appointed to confer with brethren, was instructed with brother Terrell. secret work then made report:

secret work beg leave to report: That we recommend the National Alliance to

stood by the outside public. If we can show that we have valid reasons for organizing and that our aim is to correct existing evils by intelligent means, then much of the existing prejudice will be removed.

We must remember that the Farmers' Alliance is but one branch of the great industrial army which exists over the whole of the United States. It matters not whether the laborer is a working man in the city or a farmer in the country, there are certain broad lines upon which all action and certain objects which all are equally anxious to attain. The Farmers' Alliance is one of the great organizations of the producers and consumers as opposed to the class which produces nothing of utility to humanity. We believe that we are justified in making for certain reforms. We believe that our present system of government is the best and most progressive ever known in the history of civilization. But as believers in the theory of evolution we believe improvement possible, and as the most important element of the population we believe a better condition will only come by a persistent and intelligent agitation of the reforms in which the masses are most concerned.

We start upon the basis acknowledged by all political economists, that land and labor are the two prime factors in the production of wealth. We believe it a self-evident proposition that labor creates all wealth, and to the laborer belongs the wealth which he produces. Of course we include mental as well as manual labor so long as a person produces something of utility. Now, we, as an Alliance organization, desire to find out why it is that those who perform the most useful labor by no means receive the full result of that labor. Our industrial system also is the establishment of a class of non-producers who get control of valuable natural resources and are able to control by levy a tax on those doing productive labor. For instance, those who own the oil wells, oil wells, pine forests, mines and similar valuable natural resources are easily able to get control of railroads, markets, finance, and even the law making power.

In accounting for present conditions it must be remembered that in the last half century there has been a total revolution in the methods of doing work on the farm. Machinery has taken the place of hand labor. The productivity of the farm labor has been wonderfully increased. The farm is no longer a small independent place, all

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

of civilization for his family. In fact the national census reports shows that the average farmer receives over and above the cost of the management, the princely sum of \$10 a year, or less than \$1 a day. We may perhaps imagine how much of this income can be spent in educating his child on or supplying a home with those things that make home attractive.

In consequence of the poverty and bareness of many homes, the children are continually leaving the farm and adding to the masses already struggling for existence in the cities. We are personally interested in this deplorable condition surrounding the labor of women and children because their rabbies result from the fact. Several years ago, as a representative of the St. Paul Globe, I investigated the condition under which women work in cities, and did the farmers thoroughly understand the condition, I imagine they would be anxious to keep at least the daughters at home. But if the farmer only earns an average of \$10 a year, on the other hand we have a list of thirty-five millionaires, whose accumulations vary from \$25,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000. All people own three-fifths of the wealth of the entire country; the farmers and the balance of the population own the other two-fifths. We must, also, that the manufacturers of this country in the last thirty years have made an extra profit of \$100,000,000, or about 50 per cent. on their invested capital.

Now, there can be no doubt that these statements are true, and many other facts could be cited. There can be no doubt but that the farming population are worse off and get much less for their labor than they really earn. Even those most opposed to the Alliance do not question but that there is "something rotten in the state of Denmark." When we discuss remedies, then comes the difference of opinion.

There are various classes of philanthropists and idealists who are sympathetic and well meaning, but they fail to offer adequate remedies. Among the positions advocated by such people are temperance, economy and Christian resignation. No doubt their virtues are as commendable as a matter of personal conduct, but the fact remains that these partial remedies have been tried for centuries and have never yet effected industrial reform. We see that capital finds a most effective adjunct in thorough organization. While we dislike the effects of trusts, yet the trust has not been created in vain. It has taught the masses a valuable lesson. It has paved the way for those vast federated organizations of laborers which are now trying to solve the problems presented by the modern system.

There is one remedy always proposed to the discontented—that is the ballot. Now the privilege of the ballot is two-sided. If wrongly or carelessly used it may serve only to injure those holding much power. A popular cartoon circulated during the last campaign illustrated the usual political situation of a farmer. The cartoon showed a farmer down on his hands and knees with a sea-saw plank balanced on his back. On one end of the plank sat Harrison, preaching high tariff, at the other end sat Grover Cleveland shouting free trade, but it did not make any difference which went up or down, the farmer bore the burden just the same, and he will continue to bear it forever more unless some day the farmer should take a notion to stand erect, as the Creator intended he should. Then only will he secure his political, social and industrial rights.

In order that the ballot may be used intelligently, organization is the first necessity. Without a unity of industrial interests the farmer's interests are never represented in the national halls of legislation. In the last United States senate there were sixty-nine lawyers, also merchants, bankers, speculators, railroad magnates, and real estate millionaires. There was not a lone farmer, and he was a banker as well as he probably would not have been there. In the house of representatives there were two hundred and thirty-one lawyers, twenty-eight merchants, fifty-two bankers and only thirteen farmers. According to the census of 1900 that gave one member of congress for every two hundred and thirteen lawyers, to the farmers one member of congress for every five hundred and ninety thousand voters, or, in other words, the

lawyers had twenty-nine hundred times as much representation as the farmers.

Now, I have no special prejudice against lawyers as individuals. I have occasionally seen a lawyer that was as honest as a child, but it is only natural that lawyers, bankers and speculators should predominate in the government rather than that of the industrial classes. If the farmers are not powerful enough to let other classes legislate for them they should not complain at the result. Identical as well as industrial organization has become a necessity. The two kinds of organization should not be confused. The political union may take in every citizen who does productive labor whether he be a book-keeper or a farmer. The political movement is not a class movement except that it may be styled a campaign of the producer against the non-producers. Every honest in efficient citizen can be and ought to be in the independent political movement. It will include the workers of the city as well as those of the agricultural districts. There are certain political reforms upon which all producing classes agree. These have been formulated in the report of your committee this afternoon. They include briefly reforms in land, transportation and finance. We've three three problems and the minor details will arrange themselves.

As far as industrial organization is concerned, it is no less important than the political feature. The working people of the cities can keep their industrial autonomy and the farmers' alliance likewise, even when co-operating politically. The industrial line of organization is the educating force which prepares people for political action later. It is the force which keeps up a healthy agitation on important topics, brings people closer together and dispels narrow prejudicial bigotry. The Alliance is now recognized as the great educational force for the industrial masses. It is the farmers' school of political economy. It has graduated some of the most brilliant statesmen of the day.

In recognizing the equality of the sexes and in the many privileges accorded women who come to take up this work, the Alliance stretches out a helping hand to those who are working for the sisterhood of women along with brotherhood of man.

There is no doubt but that the Alliance has made mistakes and will make mistakes in the future. It is essentially a human organization, but there can be no question as to the good it has accomplished. We cannot doubt but it will clear the way for other reforms. We are approaching an industrial crisis, and whether we emerge from it safely depends upon the conservation of the masses. The future looks hopeful to us, and we be lieve with that poet of the people when he says:

"For round and round we run,
And ever the right comes uppermost and ever is justice done."

A vote of thanks was given Miss McDonald, for her able exposition of Alliance principles:

Adjourned till 9 a. m. Thursday.

THIRD DAY—MORNING SESSION.

President Powers in chair. Session opened by prayer. Minutes of yesterday's meeting read and approved. The first business of the session was the election of officers which resulted as follows:

PRESIDENT—Hon. J. H. Powers, Cornell, Neb.; VICE-PRESIDENTS—W. A. Jones, Hastings, Neb.; Thomas Spilnx, Wheelock, Pennsylvania; Chas. Morgan, Hornby, Pennsylvania; W. H. Ljkins, Caledonia, Ohio; Wm. Kinerk, Ft. Wayne, Indiana; Col. C. F. Butt, Viroqua, Wisconsin; Hon. J. J. Furlong, Austin, Minnesota; D. F. Ravens, St. John, Washington; A. J. Westfall, Ser-

; Milton George, Chicago; O. Cowan, New Point, Mo.; SECRETARY AND TREASURER—Stoughton, Iowa. LEO WRENCE, Marion, Ohio. SECRETARIES—D. F. Ravens, Stoughton; Miss Eva McLeventh St., St. Paul, Minn.; RESOLVING COMMITTEE—W. H. George, Chicago, Illinois; Frank Nebraska.

resolution was introduced by H. Talbot, of Sioux Falls. A motion was adopted: That the President appoint an advisory committee of five members, three women and three men; to meet from time to time to discuss and report on the discussion which may be brought before the several branches a system similar to the

then appointed the following: Milton George, 158 Clark St., Chicago, Illinois; D. H. Talbot, Sioux Falls, Minnesota; Mrs. Burrows, Lincoln, Nebraska; McDonald, 70 E. Seventh St., Minneapolis; and Mrs. Clark, Nebraska. Chicago, Illinois, was the place for holding the convention. Adjourned till

the next annual meeting of the National Alliance, with such recommendations as they may deem proper. Approved and agreed to. Signed, John P. Steele, J. F. Claypool, W. T. Burlew, T. W. Haynes, Joseph Jennings, Committee P. M. B. A. C. S. Bradley, Chairman; J. H. Mason, Secretary; D. F. Ravens, A. E. Brunsen, A. P. Wright, Committee N. F. A.

We further recommend that the committee embraced in the above report be and is hereby constituted a committee looking to a like and through like conference with a like committee of the "Confederation of Industrial Organizations." C. S. Bradley, Chairman; J. H. Mason, Secretary; A. E. Brunsen, A. R. Wright, D. F. Ravens.

On motion the report was adopted and the convention elected the following as said committee: Milton George, J. H. Powers, August Post, A. J. Westfall, C. H. Cobb. The following motion was then adopted:

Resolved, That having perfect confidence in the integrity and ability of the committee we recommend that this committee take immediate steps to bring about a fair basis of co-operation, and we pledge this Alliance to stand by the work they do, provided that they shall give their assent to our statement of principles not in entire accord with the adopted platform of the National Farmers' Alliance.

Mr. Milton George then presented the following, which on motion was adopted:

ELEVATOR ACCUMULATIONS.
WHEREAS, the marketing of the grain products of the United States constitutes one of our most important industries, and is substantially the greatest source of revenue to the American agricultural merchant and manufacturer; it is essential and important that it should be surrounded by all the safeguards possible to secure fair, honest and equitable dealings between producers and consumers.

DOCT. SESSION

of marketing the same to a legitimate minimum; and sell further.

Resolved, That each and every individual part of this convention be requested to write upon their national and state legislatures the importance of sustaining and enforcing not only the present interstate commerce law, but such amendments as may be made to it in that will protect none and secure to the best interests of all concerned; and be it further

Resolved, That in the sense of this convention, the following feature could be advantageously incorporated into the existing inter-state law as an amendment.

First. Require clean bill of lading on all interstate grain shipments.

Second. Require railroad and other transportation lines to deliver all grain they receive for and contract to deliver to a given destination.

Third. Provide for a period of examination of all public grain warehouses that receive grain for storage or transfer by disinterested bonded officials to be appointed by competent authority after the same manner as national banks are examined for the purpose of making them properly accountable as custodians of private property. This examination to limit, regulate and determine the amount of surplus stock which is accumulated in such public warehouses, and which is now sold for the benefit of the managers and to the detriment of its depositors or legitimate owners.

Fourth. Prohibit any warehouse man that receives grain on storage or for transfer from dealing in grain directly or indirectly, and require that a record be kept of all grain received into and delivered from said warehouses and the records shall be so kept as to show to the exact amount of each kind and grade of grain received or shipped, from whom, where to and to whom delivered. In addition to which drawings shall be made showing interior construction of house, location of scales, sinks, spouts, bins, their sizes and capacity, which, with the records, plans and everything pertaining thereto, shall be at all times open for the inspection of any duly authorized persons.

Fifth. Impose heavy penalties for any violation of this law, which shall be prosecuted by the interstate commissioners or any United States district attorney upon information filed by any reputable citizen, one-half of said penalty to go to the informant.

Respectfully submitted,
EDWARD B. RICHARD.

Chicago, January 24th, 1911.

A communication was read from South Dakota stating that they did not approve of the South Dakota Alliance joining the Industrial Union and asking the National Alliance to charter Alliances in Dakota with a view of organizing a State Alliance under the jurisdiction of the National Alliance, and the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That in connection with the communication from South Dakota we instruct the secretary of this body to give any relief to said local Alliances that the constitution of this Alliance permits and that steps be taken to organize these Alliances under our order.

A communication from Hon. W. L. Buchanan, Chief of the Department of Agriculture of the World's Columbian

Exposition, requesting the appointment of a committee in each state under the jurisdiction of the National Farmers' Alliance to co-operate with that department, was read, and on motion the President was instructed to appoint such a committee. The President appointed the following persons as said committee: August Post, Moulton, Iowa; S. P. Groat Argyle, Nebraska; Chas. Morgan, Hornby, Pennsylvania; J. C. H. Cobb, Wellston, Ohio; W. A. Kelsey, Dunfee, Indiana; A. C. Baklwin, Vermillionville, Illinois; C. M. Butt, Viruqua, Wisconsin; G. W. Haigh, Mankato, Minnesota; G. D. Fullerton, Skidmore, Missouri; D. F. Ravens, St. John, Washington; Thomas Sphinx, Wheelock, Pennsylvania.

The Secretary was, on motion, allowed three hundred dollars as salary for the past year.

The following from the Joint Conference Committee was then presented and on motion adopted:

WHEREAS, The National Farmers' Alliance and the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association are allied societies, that their interests are large & the same, and that they are laboring for the same great purpose—the emancipation of agriculture from the thralldom of class legislation.

Resolved, That we are in favor of co-operating with each other to the fullest possible extent compatible with the interests of our respective organizations, that we will assist each other in the great work of building up and educating the masses, that we will support each other's measures as far as is consistent with our respective forms of organization, and that we will share with each other whatever benefits of co-operation in trade we may attain, and at our various meetings we will cheerfully welcome fraternal delegates.

G. J. BRADLEY, Chm.,	W. T. STELWELL,
J. H. MASON, Sec'y,	JOSEPH JENNINGS,
A. H. WRIGHT,	THOS. W. HAYNES,
A. E. BRICKSON,	F. J. CLAYPOOL,
D. F. HAYNES,	JOHN P. STEELE,

Committee for N. F. A. Committee F. M. B. A.

Report of "Unit Committee" was then received and on motion adopted. (This report is printed in separate pamphlet and will be sent free to all applicants.)

The following vote of thanks was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the National Farmers' Alliance tender to the board of trade of the city of Omaha their sincere thanks for the courtesy and aid shown in granting the free use of the Chamber of Commerce in which to hold the meetings of the eleventh annual convention of the said Alliance.

Convention adjourned.

AUGUST POST, Secretary.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

the United States, in order to
fect Union, establish justice,
tranquillity, provide for the
e, promote the general wel-
the blessings of liberty to
our posterity, do ordain and
CONSTITUTION for the United
States.

ARTICLE I.

Legislative powers herein
vested in a Congress of the
which shall consist of a Senate
representatives.
House of Representatives shall
members chosen every second
of the several States, and the
State shall have the qualifica-

2 Immediately after they shall be
in consequence of the first election
be divided as equally as may be
classes. The seats of the senator
class shall be vacated at the expir-
second year, of the second class at
tion of the fourth year, and of the
the expiration of the sixth year,
third may be chosen every second
vacancies happen by resignation, or
during the recess of the legisla-
State, the executive thereof may
ary appointments until the next
the legislature, which shall then fill
vacancies.

3 No person shall be a senator who
have attained to the age of thirty
been nine years a citizen of the U-

proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3 Each House shall keep a Journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the Journal.

4 Neither House during the session of Congress shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Sec. 6. 1 The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2 No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

Sec. 7. 1 All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2 Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and Senate, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States: if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3 Every order, resolution or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary, except a question of adjournment, shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Sec. 8. The Congress shall have power

1 To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States:

2 To borrow money on the credit of the United States:

3 To regulate commerce with foreign na-

tions, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4 To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5 To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6 To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7 To establish post-offices and post-roads;

8 To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9 To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10 To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

11 To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12 To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13 To provide and maintain a navy;

14 To make rules for the government, and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15 To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16 To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17 To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; and

18 To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution, in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Sec. 9. 1 The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2 The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3 No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4 No capitation, or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5 No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6 No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7 No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

ity shall be granted by the
ed no person holding any
st under them, shall, with-
the Congress, accept of any
office or title, of any kind
king, prince, or foreign

shall enter into any treaty,
cession; grant letters of
; coin money; emit bills
anything but gold and silver
ment of debts; pass any
post facto law, or law im-
on of contracts, or grant

without the consent of the
posts or duties on imports
what may be absolutely
ting its inspection laws;
of all duties and imposts,
imports or exports, shall
the Treasury of the United
in laws shall be subject to
trol of the Congress.

without the consent of Con-
of tonnage, keep troops, or
of peace, enter into any
act with another State, or
r, or engage in war, unless
in such imminent danger
delay.

ARTICLE II.

utive power shall be vested
United States of America,
ice during the term of four
with the Vice-President,
term, be elected, as follows:
appoint, in such manner
ereof may direct, a number
the whole number of sen-
atives, to which the State
Congress, but no senator

3 The Congress may determine the time of
choosing the electors, and the day on which
they shall give their votes; which day shall be
the same throughout the United States.

4 No person except a natural born citizen, or
a citizen of the United States at the time of
the adoption of this Constitution, shall be elig-
ible to the office of President; neither shall
any person be eligible to that office who shall
not have attained to the age of thirty-five years
and been fourteen years a resident within the
United States.

5 In case of the removal of the President
from office, or of his death, resignation, or
inability to discharge the powers and duties of
the said office, the same shall devolve on the
Vice-President, and the Congress may by law
provide for the case of removal, death, resigna-
tion, or inability, both of the President and
Vice-President, declaring what officer shall
then act as President; and such officer shall
act accordingly until the disability be removed
or a President shall be elected.

6 The President shall, at stated times, receive
for his services a compensation which shall
neither be increased nor diminished during
the period for which he shall have been elected,
and he shall not receive within that period any
other emolument from the United States, or
any of them.

7 Before he enter on the execution of his
office, he shall take the following oath or
affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will
faithfully execute the office of President of the
United States, and will, to the best of my ability,
preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution
of the United States."

Sec 2. 1 The President shall be commander-
in-chief of the army and navy of the United
States, and of the militia of the several States,
when called into the actual service of the

conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

Sec. 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their service a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Sec. 2. 1 The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

2 In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3 The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed: but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Sec. 3. 1 Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2 The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attained.

ARTICLE IV.

Sec. 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Sec. 2. 1 The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2 A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3 No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Sec. 5 1 New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new

State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2 The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Sec. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: Provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year 1808 shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

1 All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

2 This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3 The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the 17th day of September in the year of our Lord 1787, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEO. WASHINGTON,

President and deputy from Virginia.

New Hampshire.

John Langdon,

Richard Olfen.

STITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Massachusetts.

am, Rufus King.

Connecticut.

on, Roger Sherman

New York.

er Hamilton

New Jersey.

n, David Brearley,

on, Jonathan Dayton.

Pennsylvania.

Thomas Mifflin,

George Clymer,

Jared Ingersoll,

Gouverneur Morris.

Delaware.

Gunning Bedford Jr.,

Richard Bassett,

Ab Broom.

Maryland.

Dnn. of St. Thos. Jenifer,

el Carroll.

Virginia.

James Madison Jr.

North Carolina.

Richard Dobbs Spaight,

Williamson.

South Carolina.

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney,

Frederick Butler.

Georgia.

Wm. B. Baldwin.

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

except in cases arising in the land forces, or in the militia, when in actual time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to testify against himself, nor be deprived of liberty, or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State or district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

dent the votes shall be taken by States, representation from each State having one a quorum for this purpose shall consist member or members from two-thirds of ates, and a majority of all the States shall necessary to a choice. And if the House of entatives shall not choose a President ever the right of choice shall devolve them, before the fourth day of March following, then the Vice-President shall President, as in the case of the death or constitutional disability of the President. person having the greatest number of as Vice-President shall be the Vice-Pres- If such number be a majority of the whole er of electors appointed, and if no person a majority, then from the two highest ers on the list, the Senate shall choose ice-President: a quorum for the purpose consist of two-thirds of the whole num- senators, and a majority of the whole ver shall be necessary to a choice. But no n constitutionally ineligible to the office ndent shall be eligible to that of Vice- lent of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

1. Neither slavery nor involuntary serc except as a punishment for crime of the party shall have been duly con- i, shall exist within the United States, or lace subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce rticle by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

1. All persons born or naturalized in ited States, and subject to the jurisdic- hereof, are citizens of the United States l the State wherein they reside. No State make or enforce any law which shall ge the privileges or immunities of citizens : United States, nor shall any State de- any person of life, liberty, or property ut due process of law, nor deny to any n within its jurisdiction the equal protec- f the laws.

2. Representatives shall be apportioned g the several States according to their tive numbers, counting the whole num- persons in each State, excluding Indians used. But when the right to vote at any

election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, repre- sentatives in Congress, the executive and judi- cial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty- one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for par- ticipation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Sec. 3. No person shall be a Senator or Rep- resentative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in in- surrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Sec. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrec- tion or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave: but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Sec. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the pro- visions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

Sec. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on ac- count of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Sec. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SCCELLANEOUS INFORMATION

AND

TABLES OF REFERENCE.

OF HISTORICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL AND MATHEMATICAL INFORMATION,
INVALUABLE FOR THE MERCHANT, THE PROFESSIONS,
THE WRITER AND SPEAKER.

EST OF IMPORTANT BILLS AND LAWS.

ment.—All government is professedly for the good of the people, of fact, nearly every government that has ever been instituted has interest of an individual, a family or a class. A monarchical form of one where the king, emperor, etc., inherit their crown through their or birth. American statesmen, in forming our government, admitted rights of no man or class of men. It was carefully organized to ex-ns or pretenses of that kind, with a single exception, at first, which appeared in the tempest of a civil war. The executive, the various the government and the law-makers depend on the people for their t first they possessed only the dignity, privileges and rights of the ge, and their term of office expired, they return to the same level.

hardly people of Carolina, "the freest of the free," had learned to govern themselves, and every effort to enforce this plan of government utterly failed.

New England Blue Laws was a strict code of laws in vogue in Connecticut in early colonial times. It was designed to regulate the actions of each individual by a long list of very stringent rules; it regulated the apparel; it prohibited any mirth or unseemly gayety of individuals on the Sabbath. Sabbath commenced on Saturday evening and ended on Monday morning. Young men were prohibited the company of young ladies on the Sabbath. Kissing was strictly prohibited among the young people, etc.

Stamp Act was a law passed by Parliament in 1765, and provided that all deeds, notes, bills and other legal documents should be written on stamped paper. This the British revenue officers were to furnish at certain fixed rates. Parliament repealed the stamp act February 22, 1766. It was to have taken effect November 1, 1765.

Declaration of Rights was agreed upon by Congress October 28, 1765. It claimed in strong terms the right of the colonies to be free from all taxes not laid by their own representatives. It denounced the stamp act as unconstitutional, and the actions of England unjust.

Boston Port Bill was an act passed by Parliament in June, 1774, closing the Boston port, and for the removal of the custom-house to Salem. It forbade the masters of vessels to take in or discharge cargoes in that harbor.

Writs of Assistance were warrants authorizing English officers to search for smuggled goods. Under this pretext any petty custom-house official could enter a man's house or store at his pleasure. The colonists believed that "every man's house is his castle," and resisted such search as a violation of their rights.

Mutiny Act.—England sent troops to enforce the laws. The "Mutiny Act," as it was called, ordered that the colonies should provide these soldiers with quarters and necessary supplies.

Declaration of Independence, one of the greatest documents ever written, was adopted by Congress July 4, 1776. It designates the causes which have estranged the colonies from England, and declares the United States to be free and independent. By this declaration the new republic, as it took its place among the powers of the world, proclaimed its faith in the truth, reality and unchangeableness of freedom and virtue. And the astonished nations, as they read that all men are created equal, started out of their lethargy, like those who have been exiled from childhood, when they suddenly hear the dimly remembered accents of their mother tongue.

Articles of Confederation were agreed to in Congress on Saturday, November 15, 1777, and sent to the States for approval. It had been adopted and ratified by all the States by March 1, 1781. This document was little more than a digest of the powers before assumed by Congress, and tacitly acknowledged by the States from the commencement of the war. This now legal bond had existed before as a free, though unspoken, submission to the dictates of prudence and patriotism. The real constitution was the patriotism of the American people.

Conway Cabal was a plot formed in Congress in 1777 to put Washington out of the command of the army and give this position to General Gates. When

DIGEST OF BILLS AND LAWS.

rd of this plot they were so indignant that its getters-up were
ence.

on of the United States was adopted Sept. 17, 1787, and b
790, had been ratified by all of the States. This document i
l, obliging the highest to obedience, to justice and right, and
to an equal share in its political privileges and to its vig
containing the wisest provisions of English law, it rejects all th
y with our circumstances and our fundamental doctrine tha
l rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The pres
a its purpose. Fifteen amendments have since been added.
ments, which define the power of Congress, the rights of the p
re added in 1789. The eleventh, which defines the judicial p
States and its restrictions, was added in 1794. The twelfth, v
hod of electing presidents and vice-presidents, was added in
, which abolishes slavery, was added Dec. 18, 1865. The fourte
defines citizenship and the rights of citizens, gives basis for
es the persons who are disqualified from holding office by h
insurrection or rebellion, acknowledges the validity of the U
t debts incurred in the aid of rebellion are held to be illegal
enth, which extends the right of suffrage to the negro, was
869.

of 1787.—An ordinance for the government of the territo
ates northwest of the Ohio river. This ordinance provides
son shall have a right to exercise freedom in religious wor
e peaceable and orderly. (2) The right of trial by jury. (3
ation, kindness and justice to Indians, etc. (4) That this ter
main part of this confederation of the United States of A

an indemnity for injuries committed by the French on the commerce of the United States. Congress paid France \$11,250,000 in bonds, and agreed to appropriate \$3,750,000 to pay claims of American citizens against France. Of this sum \$3,738,783.98 was paid from 1803 to 1834 inclusive. The balance was carried to the surplus fund in 1868.

Right of Search.—England claimed the right of stopping and boarding American vessels, and impressed for their own ships whatever seamen they chose to regard as British subjects. They claimed, "once an Englishman, always an Englishman." Several American seamen were seized and forced into the British navy under the pretense that they were deserters. In retaliation of these outrages, President Jefferson issued a proclamation forbidding all British vessels from entering the harbors of the United States until satisfaction for the past and security for the future should be made by England.

Orders in Council were issued by the British government Jan. 7 and Nov. 11, 1807, prohibiting all neutral nations from trading with France or her allies, excepting upon payment of a tribute to England. These restrictions greatly checked the progress of manufactures in England, and caused much distress in that country until their removal in 1814.

Berlin Decree was issued Nov. 20, 1807, by Napoleon. It declared the British islands to be in a state of blockade, and ordered all Englishmen found in countries occupied by French troops to be treated as prisoners of war.

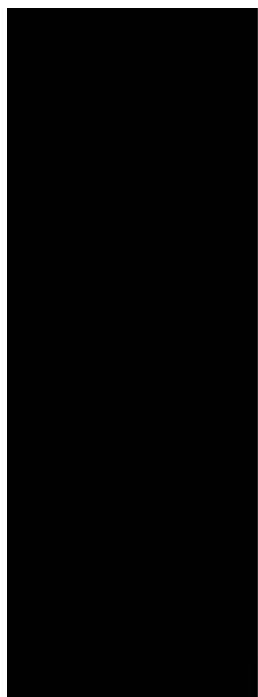
Milan Decree was issued by Napoleon Dec. 17, 1807. This ordered all vessels that had submitted to search by an English ship, or had paid tribute, to be confiscated; it also forbade all continental intercourse with England.

Embargo Act.—To retaliate upon France and England, Congress, in December, 1807, decreed an embargo, by which all American vessels and sailors were called home and detained, and foreign vessels were prohibited from taking cargoes from our ports. It failed from obtaining from France and England an acknowledgment of American rights, and proved ruinous to the commerce of this country. It was repealed in March, 1809.

Non-Intercourse Act was passed by Congress in March, 1809, and forbade all commerce of the United States with Great Britain and France.

Hartford Convention.—Delegates from the several New England States, politically opposed to the administration of President Madison and depreciating the then existing war between the United States and Great Britain, assembled at Hartford, in December, 1814, to take into consideration the state of public affairs. They deliberated in secret. All that came of it was a report recommending some changes in the constitution.

Monroe Doctrine, a term applied to the determination expressed by President Monroe, in a message to Congress in 1822, not to permit any European power to interfere in restraining the progress of liberty in North or South America by exercising sovereignty on this continent, and that the American continents "are not to be considered as subject for future colonization by any European power." This doctrine has been frequently reaffirmed as a settled political tenet of the people and government of the United States.



0

0

0

0





STITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

all be taken by States, each State having one purpose shall consist of two-thirds of all the States shall. And if the House of not choose a President choice shall devolve fourth day of March the Vice-President shall the case of the death or ability of the President. The greatest number of shall be the Vice-President a majority of the whole elected, and if no person from the two highest the Senate shall choose quorum for the purpose thirds of the whole number majority of the whole to a choice. But no ineligible to the office eligible to that of Vice-President States.

ARTICLE XIII.

any nor involuntary servitude punishment for crime shall have been duly committed in the United States, or under its jurisdiction. It shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

born or naturalized in subject to the jurisdiction of the United States when they reside. No State shall any law which shall impair the rights of citizens nor shall any State deny, liberty, or property of law, nor deny to any person the equal protection

shall be apportioned among the States according to their whole number, excluding Indians not taxed. The right to vote at any

election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Sec. 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Sec. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Sec. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

Sec. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Sec. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

